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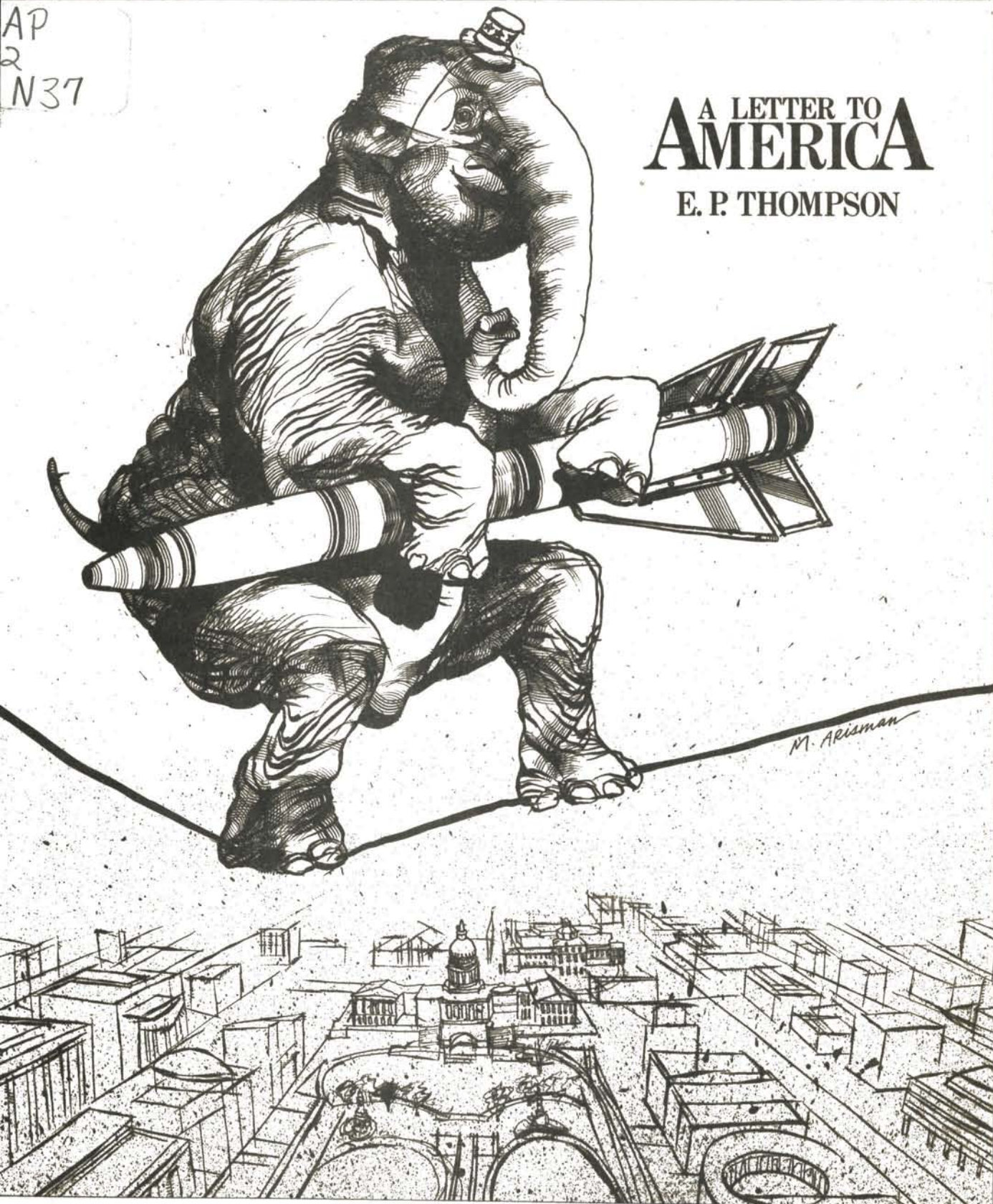
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A LETTER TO AMERICA

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LETTERS.

ON RECONSTRUCTING THE LEFT

New York City

In the editorial, "America's Forgotten Majority" [Nov. 15, 1980], *The Nation* declared the "real" post-election question to be whether the "disaffected majority" of nonvoters should be addressed within or outside of the two-party system. I suggest that the answer await the kind of popular movement that emerges in reaction to Ronald Reagan's expected—and already foreshadowed—assaults on the social programs enacted over the past forty-five years.

We now confront the need for a massive resistance against cutting or destroying these programs involving labor and welfare recipients, civil rights, civil liberties, women's rights, the environment, etc., as well as against an intensified *Amerika über alles* drive abroad, with its attendant expansion of military power. It is dangerous to depend on Reagan's "pragmatism," particularly since the New Right will be there to insure Reagan's unwavering fealty to the reactionary G.O.P. platform. And it would be shortsighted indeed to take a passive attitude toward the destruction of these programs on the grounds that "liberalism has failed" or that the economy can no longer afford them.

It is no doubt true that there is need for greater creativity in confronting today's problems, that they cannot in fact be resolved without profound social changes and that many social programs were initially conceded because our society could then afford them. But should those on the lower rungs be made to bear the brunt of the economy's decline while the upper crust reaps huge benefits in the form of tax cuts, business subsidies and a free hand to intensify control of the economy and society?

Reagan has said he plans to cut the budget by 7 to 10 percent. Since more than two-thirds of the budget is taken up by the military and nonreducible commitments (debt, Social Security, etc.), that part that includes social programs faces cuts of 20 to 25 percent. We will thus need the widest possible unity of all groups affected by the incoming business Administration's cleaver if we are to prevent the disemboweling of these programs. The unity will need to

include not only the trade unions, minority and women's organizations, left and liberal movements, the numerous coalitions and great numbers of civic, or "populist," groups concerned with specific issues; it will need to include the liberal, even "moderate," Democratic organizations, politicians and voters prepared to join this struggle. It will, in short, need to be a reconstitution of the "center-left coalition" which made the enactment of the social programs of the New Deal possible.

Should such a movement arise and effectively meet the expected Reagan challenge, it could make the Democratic Party a viable vehicle for reversing the 1980 results in 1982 and 1984. Failing that, it could serve as the basis for a third party with a genuine mass constituency. But to determine now that there must be a third party alternative in 1984, as some in the Citizens Party are doing, or even to debate the question now, is to divert from what is fundamental today—constructing an active anti-Reagan coalition that will embrace the millions of Democrats who voted against Reagan in November.

Max Gordon

IMMIGRATION APPEAL

New York City

I lost my appeal before the Board of Immigration Appeals (B.I.A.) and was ordered to leave the country no later than January 8, 1981. This order has been stayed pending appeals. [See "Back-Door Policy," *The Nation*, Sept. 8, 1979, which discussed this writer's case.]

It is my belief that I am being deported because of my political opinions. Even the B.I.A. noted the "Immigration and Naturalization Service's obvious interest in the respondent's political background. This interest is evident by the service's notice to the F.B.I. that the respondent might be a 'subversive' and by the memo to the counsel in Tel-Aviv regarding the respondent's alleged involvement with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine." However, the B.I.A. found me deportable for "overstaying" my student visa, and dismissed as "unproven" the argument of my lawyer, Michael Maggio, that the I.N.S. took its action because of my advocacy of the rights of the Palestinian people. The

Immigration and Naturalization Service put me "out of status" as a student by not acting upon my applications. The I.N.S. refused to reinstate me to student status on the grounds that I "failed to establish a definite educational goal," because I changed my major when I was a freshman in 1976.

The only way I could stay beyond January 8 was by appealing to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. A civil rights lawsuit will also be heard by the U.S. District Court in Columbus, Ohio. The latter is necessary to make discoveries about the F.B.I.-I.N.S. cooperation to deport me to Israel, where I would be subject to arrest as an alleged P.F.L.A. member.

I have fought so far, because of your support in the past. Unfortunately there is no civil rights group to sponsor further litigation. So I need your help. The Defense Committee is \$6,500 in debt and will incur about \$10,000 more for legal expenses in the next two months. Please, be generous in your donation to the Defense Committee, Department of Economics, New School for Social Research, 66 West 12th Street, New York, New York 10011. Write letters to protest the deportation of Elias Ayoub to: the President, the Attorney General, the I.N.S. Director and the B.I.A., 5203 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church, Virginia. Thank you.

Elias Ayoub

DIRTY TRICKS ENCORE?

On the day before the Women's Pentagon Action, the New York office phones started acting funny. While some people got through, many who called about bus rides to the demonstration heard a recorded message saying, "242-3270 has been disconnected."

The same thing happened to the phone at the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft on the day of a sit-in last May.

In both cases the phones were working the day before and working again the day after. The phone company couldn't understand it.

Have you had any problems like this? Please send information to Barbara Garson, 463 West Street, apt. 1108A, New York, New York 10014.

doctors, university teachers) have proliferated.

I have not discussed the similar movements in Spain, Portugal, France and Italy but, altogether, this amounts to quite a few Europeans who, unaccountably, do not take what is supposed to be 'the European view.' I did attempt to draw the attention of readers of *The New York Times* to this evidence, but without success. My letter went unpublished, although Ms. Lewis herself was kind enough to send me a courteous note of acknowledgment.

Since her letter to me was private I am not entitled to quote it here. But, in brief, she argued that, since the elected governments of certain NATO powers were endorsing NATO plans for nuclear rearmament, she was correct in reporting this as "the dominant European view."

Listen, America

Now such a reply is formally acceptable—and it was nice of her to write back—but it is not good enough. I can recall a time when liberal opinion in the United States was finely attuned to the causes and issues of other nations, a time when New York was a great internationalist city which listened to the world—and when we, in Europe, listened back to the causes and arguments of New York.

What Ms. Lewis seemed to be signaling to me was the end of that sort of tradition, when not only ruling parties and great blocs (Europe, NATO) were attended to but when minorities also were allowed voices—and I have been speaking of very substantial minorities, strong enough to defeat governments—and when we tried, across national barriers, to exchange arguments and to work for common causes. There is a substantial, growing, well-informed tide of opinion in Europe which considers that both superpowers—under the pressure of their rival military establishments—are on a collision course which will prove, within some two decades, to be terminal: that is, terminal for *all* of us. The survival of civilization in the Northern Hemisphere might appear to be a common cause whose movements and arguments merit reporting.

It is not because I am "anti-American" but because I am *pro-American*—that is, because I think that, on balance, it would be a good thing if American civilization survived—that I am asking for attention to these arguments.

And I must add one more personal note.

From Satan's Kingdom

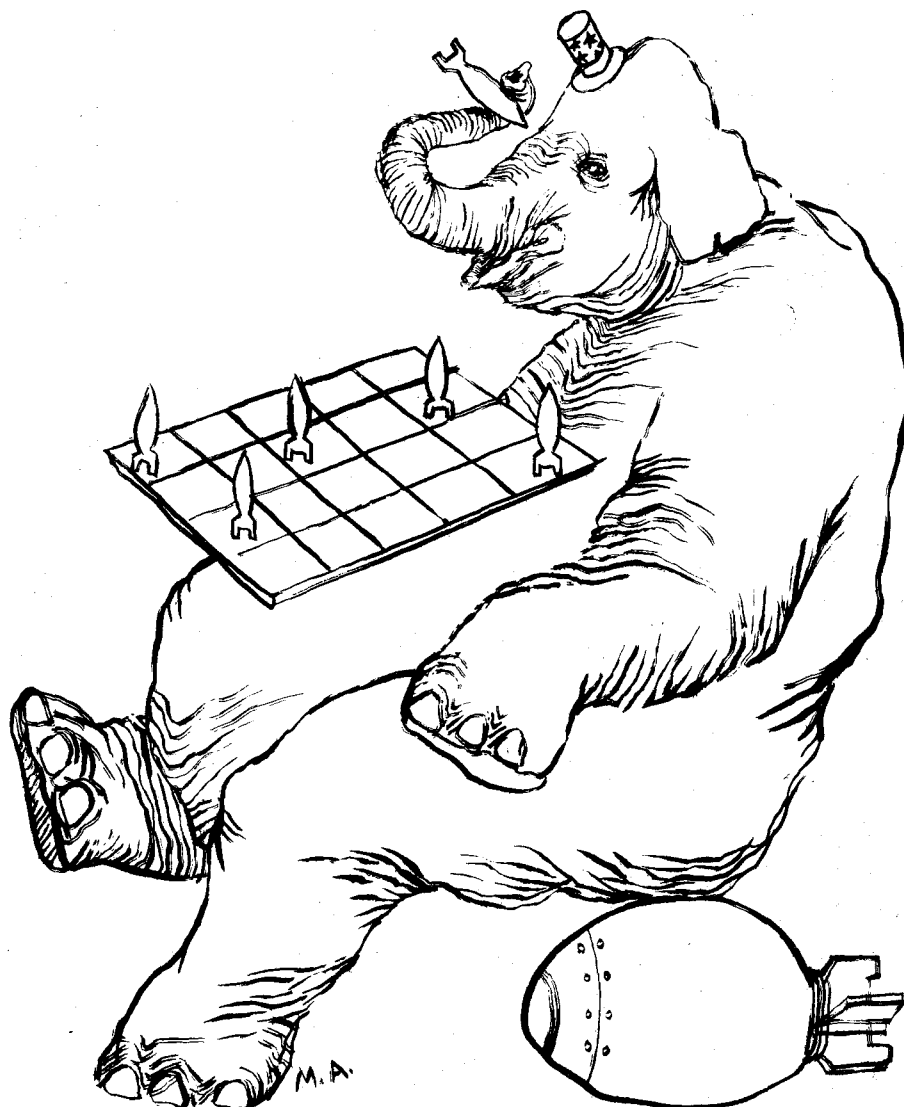
In the past two decades I have benefited greatly from intellectual exchanges with American scholars in my own discipline of social history, and I have enjoyed the hospitality of several American universities. There can be no doubt as to the internationalism of the American academic community—it is to the United States that one comes to find out what is happening in many other parts of the world. There is no honor which has delighted me more than election as a foreign honorary Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

I am therefore baffled to know what to make of the Winter, 1981, issue of *Daedalus*. *Daedalus* is the journal of the American Academy and it has a distinguished reputation. This current issue is the second of two numbers devoted to "U.S. Defense Policy in the 1980s," and it is largely concerned with NATO and

with European arrangements. The concern is phrased, throughout, in such terms as this: "Are new doubts about the American commitment to its defense taking hold in Western Europe?"

I have read this special issue with attention and with growing astonishment. I find it to be a barbaric utterance, made up of chapters of bad advice from Satan's Kingdom, and in its sum a signal that civilization is already defeated beyond remedy. (And I would add that the views expressed in this particular issue of *Daedalus* are representative of the larger community of "defense intellectuals" in the United States.)

Indeed, this defeat is *assumed*, as a first proposition, from the first page to the last. It is assumed that two great blocs in the world are in a state of permanent war (restrained only by something called "deterrence") and will, forever, remain so. The expertise of the authors—for they are, all of them, undoubtedly very great experts—is con-



DRAWINGS BY MARSHALL ARISMAN

Nuclear Strategy in a Dynamic World: American Policy in the 1980s

by Donald M. Snow

After an analysis of the nature of the nuclear system with close attention to the underlying stability and philosophy of the deterrence system—the concepts of which undergird the entire fragile structure—and its limitations, this new and important work recapitulates nuclear doctrine and capabilities in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. This in-depth background leads to an investigation of the arms-control process and its three crucial issues—controlling the qualitative arms race, the continuing Soviet challenge, and the dangers of proliferation.

“This treatment of the totality of the formulation of nuclear strategies meets a well-established need.”—Lt. Col. William A. Wuest, Air Command & Staff College, Maxwell AFB

“A contribution to the dialogue on American strategic policy.”—Joseph I. Coffey, Center for Arms Control and International Security Studies, U. of Pittsburgh

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tained within an infantile political view of the world, derived, I suppose, from too much early reading of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*. The evil kingdom of Mordor lies there, and there it ever will lie, while on our side lies the nice republic of Eriador, inhabited by confused liberal hobbits who are rescued from time to time by the genial white wizardry of Gandalf-figures such as Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski or, maybe, Richard Allen.

That is an overstatement, for in fact the contributors to this issue say little about politics at all. A Manichaeic, black-white, world view is assumed, and the rest is politically null. That is, perhaps, what a top-flight “defense expert” is: a person with a hole in the head where politics and morality ought to be, who can then get along all the better with moving around the acronyms, in a vocabulary of throw-weight, delivery-systems, megatons and the extrapolation of ever-more-tenuous worst-case scenarios.

“Controlling the escalation process by providing NATO with a wider menu of realistic nuclear options has become an important priority.” That is a sample of the use of English of one of these experts, Mr. Richard Burt, whose extremist views were represented extensively in *The New York Times* in the period of the late election. And another notable expert, Prof. Michael Nacht, comes forward proudly as the inventor of a new “defensive” concept, that of “pre-emptive deterrence.” Pre-emptive deterrence consists in pre-emptive aggressive actions around the world in pursuit of strategic advantage or scarce minerals, raw materials, oil and so forth, and he recommends this brave new concept (although I had thought the concept to be as old as Roman or British imperialism) to the attention of the new U.S. administration—but in a moderate kind of way, of course, and only when “U.S. security interests” or “the intrinsic value of the assets” are important and, even then, only in “favorable circumstances.”

I have been puzzling, as a European, to work out how this “wider menu” of “nuclear options” might affect us, and what “pre-emptive deterrence” might lead on to. The view of Europe of several of these distinguished contributors is somewhat hazy. Scholars so high in the world, whose advice is solicited by statesmen and editors, must take a large and distant view of things. One expert

notes that “Western Europe (like South Korea) amounts geographically to a peninsula projecting out from the Eurasian land mass, a land mass dominated by the Soviet Union, a land mass from which large contingents of military force can emerge on relatively short notice to invade the peninsula.”

Undoubtedly a sage comment. But it puzzles me as a historian. South Korea has not, I think, ever been invaded by Russians, although those new-found friends of the United States, the Chinese, did once enter North Korea in force. Nor is Western Europe *exactly* like South Korea. Nor, come to think of it, has the traffic, since the time of the Visigoths, always been that way, with invading hordes bearing down on the “peninsula” from the “land mass.” I seem, dimly, to recall movements the other way—and on two occasions to the gates of Moscow. I believe that there are Russians still living (for many millions did not survive it) who recall the second occasion.

Politics of Survival

But these are expert matters which we must leave to the experts. What we cannot leave to the experts are the *politics* of human survival: and on this small matter, one might have supposed, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences might (in two generous issues) have solicited a contribution. This matter confuses me very deeply: I feel myself severed in half, as a citizen of Europe and as a visiting scholar enjoying American hospitality.

For the editor of *Daedalus*, Prof. Stephen Graubard, is a member of the history department at Brown University (where I have been teaching), and he has an office at the top of the same pleasant old house in which I work. We have not been introduced to each other, but no doubt we have met and nodded genially on the stairs. No doubt, if he has heard of me at all, he thinks of me as a *very* confused hobbit, needing all the protection that American Gandalfs can bring.

Professor Graubard's own introduction to this special issue is bland, and it might even be thought that he had done no more than exercise his necessary editorial duties in putting this Satanic handbook together. Yet, at a second view, it is clear that he is very much in accord with the first assumptions of his contributors. He shares the prime assumption, upon which all else is erected, that there is “a potential Soviet

reat to the very heart of Europe," and at this must be so, forever and ever, nen. The "gravity of our predicament" stems from the loss of United ates "dominance" in Europe, and is loss "can only be thought of as agic." The growing desire, even lust, Europeans, East and West, for nuclear disarmament and for détente, is en by Graubard (as by several of his ntributors) as regrettable and as omething presenting "problems" to fense experts and to Western politi- ans, who must somehow—by fictive stures at arms control—negotiate ound the susceptibilities of their elec- rates. And Graubard shares with ther contributors a sense of alarm at e possible "Finlandization" of Eu- ope, while, at the same time, writing at "Europeans are openly shocked by idences of American indecision and incompetence."

Fired Scholars

Now, I wonder who these "Euro- eans" are? I think that they may be ictions of defense experts and editors, ounters in the rhetorical games of the old war. If Professor Graubard and I vere to stop on the stairs one day and xchange courtesies, I would feel bound o go on, beyond courtesy, to ask him ome questions. I would ask him why he assembled for this number this set of ontributors and not others: for exam- ple, those many distinguished American ientists, arms-control experts and others (some of them longstanding Fel- ows of the Academy) who have, over he years, in such places as the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, performed a service to the entire world by presenting seriously researched information and by proposing alternatives to the never-end- ing arms race? And if Professor Grau- bard replied that "defense experts," in Western Europe as well as the United States, are into this kind of Satanic vocabulary and are prisoners of their own discipline, then I would readily agree; and would agree, also, that a sim- ilar compilation of worst-case scenarios and tabulations of megatonnage could be put together in the Soviet bloc as well. But I would go on to ask whether the discipline itself may not be suspect, corrupt and at enmity with the universal principles of humane scholarship; whether it was the business of scholars, at a time when civilization itself is threatened, to serve as the (well-funded and -rewarded) apologists of

military establishments and states?

I would then tell him that I do not know what "Finlandization" means, but that if it means a process by which, in the Warsaw bloc, the bankrupt ideol- ogy and methods of Soviet Communism give way before increasing pressures for democratization, while in Western Eu- rope the pressures grow for disarma- ment, trade and cultural exchange, this is an end devoutly to be hoped for. And what shocks my kind of European is not American "indecision and incompe- tence" but its menacing measures of

military deployment and nuclear arma- ment, its refusal to engage in any dis- armament negotiations in plain earnest, its ridiculous and threatening claim of the Persian Gulf as an American sea, the manifest desire of its strategists to reduce Western European nations to an inert state of cliency, its instrumental and opportunist use of the issues of civil rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, not as causes which can actual- ly be won but as amazing propaganda- fodder in the media cold war, and, in sum, exactly that infantile and self-con-

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firming view of hostilities in perpetuity which is the premise of this issue of *Daedalus*.

'Protest and Survive'

I would have to go on to explain why I do not wish to be "defended" by American nuclear weaponry, and more than this, why increasing numbers of Western Europeans regard the proposed introduction of cruise missiles and Pershing IIs onto their territory as, so far from being any defense, a move that, by making them priority targets in any nuclear war, threatens their existence. And I would then have to explain how I came to be one of the speakers at Trafalgar Square on October 26, in a demonstration under the slogan "Protest and Survive"—a slogan which was taken from a pamphlet of that title issued last April.

The editor of *The Nation*, who holds to the old and estimable tradition of international exchanges, has done me the honor of proposing that some large part of this pamphlet, *Protest and Survive*, may be of concern to American readers. And I must ask these readers, in what follows, to have the courtesy to place themselves for a while in an alternative, European, perception. I have struck out some merely local British passages, but I have not attempted to adjust the argument as a whole. This would not be possible, and it is, in any case, precisely the alternative perception which I wish to convey. If readers will do me the kindness, for a while, to consider themselves as Europeans or even—painful as this may be—as British protesters, then I will attempt, in the conclusion, to return them to themselves.

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PART I

'Modernizing' NATO: The Mendacity Game

We have academic defense "experts" in Europe also, who are on very much the same circuit as the contributors to *Daedalus*. One such is Prof. Michael Howard, until lately Chichele Professor of the History of War, and now promoted to be Regius Professor of History at Oxford, perhaps the most eminent position in the British historical profession.

Professor Howard wrote to *The Times* of London (January 30, 1980) urging extensive provisions for civil defense, as a component in British "defense posture." And he continued:

The presence of cruise missiles on British soil makes it highly possible that this country would be the target for a series of pre-emptive strikes by Soviet missiles. These would not necessarily be on the massive scale foreseen by Lord Noel-Baker in your columns of January 25. It is more likely that the Russians would hold such massive strikes in reserve, to deter us from using our sea-based missiles as a "second strike force" after the first Soviet warheads had hit targets in this country.

This initially limited Soviet strike would have the further objective, beyond eliminating weapons in this country targeted on their own homeland, of creating conditions here of such political turbulence that the use of our own nuclear weapons, followed as this could be by yet heavier attacks upon us, would become quite literally "incredible."

On these grounds Professor Howard argued that "civil defense on a scale sufficient to give protection to a substantial number of the population" is "an indispensable element of deterrence."

Civil Defense Pipe Dreams

What such measures of civil defense might be, or what scale would be necessary to protect a "substantial number" of the population Professor Howard did not explain. I therefore consulted the letter which he cited by Philip Noel-Baker in *The Times*. Lord Noel-Baker is the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize for his work for international conciliation over very many years. We may take

it that he keeps himself well informed. In his letter he notes that "many voices are being raised in the United States, Britain and elsewhere to argue that nuclear wars could be fought without total disaster; some even suggest that nuclear war could be won." He then goes on to detail the findings of Mr. Va Peterson, who was appointed United States Civil Defense Administrator some twenty-five years ago, and who organized many exercises, national, regional and local, at the height of a previous cold war.

Mr. Peterson drew the following conclusions from his successive exercises. In 1954 the national exercise was estimated to have had a yield of twenty-two million casualties, of whom seven million would have been dead. In 1956 fifty-six million, or one-third of the population of the United States, were presumed as casualties. In 1957:

If the whole 170 million Americans had Air Raid Shelters, at least 50 percent of them would die in a surprise enemy attack. In the last analysis, there is no such thing as a nation being prepared for a thermonuclear war.

From evidence of this order Lord Noel-Baker concludes:

Any use of nuclear weapons will escalate into a general war. . . . There is *no* defense against such weapons; and . . . nuclear warfare will destroy civilization, and perhaps exterminate mankind. To hope for salvation from Civil Defense is a dangerous self-deluding pipe dream.

There is a good deal of talk around today, from defense "experts," military strategists and the like, which leads us to suppose that the military, on both sides of the world, are capable of delivering very small nuclear packs, with the greatest accuracy and with no lethal consequences outside the target area. In the bright vocabulary of "deterrence" they chatter on about "surgically clean strikes" with "minimum collateral damage." Professor Howard's speculations were evidently supported by some such assumptions: thus the Russians are supposed to "eliminate" the 160 cruise missiles which the United States is bent

in placing in England, but only local damage will be done.

Now there are two matters here which require examination. The first concerns the known power and probable effect of these weapons. The second concerns the strategic assumptions of those "experts" who suppose that any nuclear war could be limited in this way. We will now turn to the first.

Limited Strikes?

In the autumn of 1979, Lord Zuckerman delivered a major address in Philadelphia to the American Philosophical Society, which was published in its *Proceedings* of August 1980. It is an address which Europeans (and Americans also) should study. The author was the British Government's chief scientific adviser from 1964 to 1971 and, in addition to drawing upon his own extensive experience, he also draws upon that of a number of eminent U. S. scientists and advisers.

Lord Zuckerman's testimony (which should be read in full) is wholly dismissive of the notion of a "limited" nuclear strike, confined to military targets only:

It is still inevitable that were military installations rather than cities to become the objectives of nuclear attack, millions, even tens of millions, of civilians would be killed, whatever the proportion of missile sites, airfields, armament plants, ports, and so on that would be destroyed.

And he explains that strategists, in calculating the estimated effects of missile strikes, employ the acronym C.E.P. (Circular Error Probable) for the radius of a circle within which 50 percent of strikes would fall.

Thus we have to deal with two factors: the 50 percent of the missiles which fall *within* the C.E.P., and the 50 percent which fall *without* and which "would not necessarily be distributed according to standard laws of probability." Lord Zuckerman does not tell us the presumed C.E.P. for a "limited" strike aimed at a single missile base, and this is perhaps an official secret. But in the debate that was eventually held in the Commons *after* NATO's decision to base cruise missiles in Britain, statements were made which enable an impression to be offered.

I must first explain that the strategy of nuclear warfare has now become a highly specialized field of study, which has developed its own arcane vocabu-

lary, together with a long list of acronyms: C.E.P., MIRV (multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicle), ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile), ECCM (electronic counter-countermeasures), MEASL (Marconi-Elliott Avionics Systems, Ltd.) and, as the plum of them all, MAD (mutual assured destruction).

In this vocabulary, nuclear weapons are subdivided into several categories: *strategic*—the intercontinental missiles of immense range and inconceivable destructive power, which may be submarine-launched or sited in silos and on tracks behind the Urals or in the Nevada desert; *theater* (long-, middle- or short-range), which may be bombs or missiles, carried on aircraft or permanently sited, or moved around at sea or on land on mobile launch platforms; and *tactical*. Sometimes NATO strategists refer to "theater" weapons as "tactical" ones, and sometimes they are

referring to smaller battlefield nuclear devices—land mines, artillery shells, etc., which could be mixed in with "conventional weapons."

These several degrees of weaponry form "a chain of deterrence." Mr. Pym, the British Defense Secretary, spoke in the House of Commons of "an interlocking system of comprehensive deterrence . . . a clear chain of terrible risk," with the pistol and the grenade at one end and the MX missile at the other.

Nuclear Theatrics

It is generally agreed that "the West" has some advantage in *strategic* weapons, although this fact has been concealed from the Western public in recent months in order to direct attention to long- and medium-range *theater* weapons, where it is said that the Soviet Union has recently attained an advantage by replacing the SS-4 and SS-5 missiles with the very deadly SS-20, and by



introducing the Backfire bomber. It is to meet this "threat" to parity in the middle link of the chain that cruise missiles are to be introduced by NATO in Western Europe.

On December 3, 1979, Mr. David Fairhall, the *Guardian's* defense correspondent and a very zealous apologist for NATO, published a map which illustrated how NATO apologists perceived the European "balance." It could be seen from this map that the Soviet threat was very serious, since it was marked in heavy dotted lines and thick arrowheads, whereas NATO's response was delicately etched. It could also be seen that NATO's existing, pre-modern weaponry (the Pershing I, the F-111 and the Vulcan) was pitiful, and would not even be able to destroy Rome or Naples, nor any part of Greece. So that if it were not for the submarine-launched ballistic missiles (Polaris, Poseidon and Trident), NATO would be reduced in a nuclear war to stinging itself, like a scorpion, to death.

Either NATO or the map is pretty silly, or both. The point, however, is that present strategic thinking supposes a limited nuclear war, with theater weapons. Europe is such a theater, and this limited war will be localized to a small

area from the Urals to the Western coast of Ireland. In this scenario, strategic weapons (ICBMs and the like) will be held back for a second strike, so that neither Siberia nor the North American continent will be under any immediate threat.

Before we go further, we should note the fact that, when we come to hard information—and in particular to the trading of estimated numbers of missiles and other weapons—the air is very much fouled up today.

Disinformation

The reasons for this are easy to identify, but they illuminate a part of the problem, so we will digress to explain them. First, it is axiomatic that each military bloc has an interest in misleading the other, and this is done both by concealing information and by deliberately spreading disinformation.

In general, each bloc is at pains to deny and conceal its own areas of greatest military strength, and to advertise a pretense to strength in areas where it is weak. The intelligence agencies that report on each other's resources are themselves an interest group, with high ideological motivation, and on occasion they deliberately manufacture alarmist reports.

Lord Zuckerman gives evidence as to the steady flow of "phony intelligence" and "farfetched" predictions as to Soviet military power which have influenced United States planning over the past twenty years. There is no reason to suppose that this fouling-up of information takes place only in Western capitals.

The name of the game, on both sides, is mendacity. Indeed, "deterrence" might itself be defined as the biggest and most expensive lie in history; and it has, in effect, been defined in this way by British Defense Secretary Pym: "Deterrence is primarily about what the other side thinks, not what we may think."

The second reason why the air is fouled up is that the military and security elites in both blocs, and their political servitors, cannot pursue their expensive and dangerous policies without continually terrifying the populations of their own countries with sensational accounts of the war preparations of the other bloc.

To be sure, the plain facts are terrifying enough without any embroidery. But it is necessary to persuade the native

populations that the other side is steering a lead in order to justify even great preparations and expenditure at home.

This is as necessary in the Soviet Union as it is in the West, despite the absence of any open public debate there on the issues. For the Soviet military budget is very heavy, and this entails the continual postponement and disappointment of people's expectations as to improving services and goods. In particular, a quite disproportionate concentration of the nation's most advanced scientific and technological skills take place in the military sector—as it does increasingly, in the West. The threat from the West, whether it exists or not (and in Soviet perception it certainly does), has become a necessary legitimization for the power of the ruling elite: an excuse for their many economic and social failures and an argument to isolate and silence critics within their own borders.

In the West we have "open debate," although it is contained by bipartisan "consensus" and is not permitted to intrude in any sharp way into our major media. An interesting example of this manipulation came out in the House of Commons debate when the British Under Secretary for Defense (replying to suggestions that the NATO program of missile "modernization" might not be large enough to keep up with Soviet missile programs) replied:

The United States is planning to introduce cruise missiles, carried on B-52 bombers, for the strategic role. It is planning an armory of 2,000 or 3,000 missiles . . . forming only one part of a huge strategic triad alongside ICBMs and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and all due to enter service in two or three years' time.

This program is to be *in addition* to the existing U.S. strategic resources (which are generally agreed to be already in excess of Russia's, and which have always been so).

Official Truth

Now I am not an expert in these matters, and I do not usually follow the specialist press. But in the previous three months, and especially in the weeks preceding the NATO decision of December 12, 1979, I had followed the general press with care. I have still a thick file of clippings from the defense correspondents of the more serious British daily, weekly and Sunday papers. Yet this was the first mention I met with of these

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rather substantial U.S. plans, which are to be added to NATO's little provision.

The entire "debate" in Britain prior to the NATO decision was not a debate at all but an exercise in official information: It was conducted in the press and television on the basis of letting the people believe that there was a massive buildup of Soviet SS-20s and Backfire bombers, all aimed at NATO, but with the United States, the dominant power in NATO, removed from the equation. NATO's program of nuclear weapons "modernization" could then be presented as a tardy and inadequate response to the Soviet threat. Nothing at all was mentioned, in the general press, as to this little addition to the Western sum ("2,000 or 3,000 missiles") as part of "a huge strategic triad."

Since that decision—and as some members of the British public have begun to ask awkward questions—official information has given way, in some quarters, to downright official lying. I am not complaining at the fact that Mr. Pym, when, on June 17, 1980, he announced on television the sites chosen by the U.S. Air Force for their missiles, pleaded, with a catch in his throat, that these were intended only for the "defense" of our peace and our liberty. This is exactly what Mr. Brown, Mr. Ustinov, or any other Minister of Defense (as Ministers of War are now laughably called the world over) tells his own people. That is only to be expected.

I am objecting more to the kind of statement given, with increasing frequency, in Parliament and in the press, of the following order:

One new Russian SS missile, with all Europe in its sights, is installed every five days; there are already 160 of these monsters in place. . . . The Russian nuclear force threatening Europe's cities will build up to something like 2,000-3,000 warheads by the mid-1980s. Against it is a NATO plan, still on paper, to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles—but only some 500 of them.

That is from the leading editorial of the *Sunday Times* of London for July 6, 1980. I am sorry to single out this newspaper, since it is only repeating what is said on all sides. But a paper that pretends to objectivity and authority ought to be judged by stricter standards than those which pretend only to propaganda.

What is directly false in this passage is that 160 of "these monsters" (the

SS-20s) are faced only by "a NATO plan, still on paper" to introduce Pershing IIs and cruise missiles. What they and other Russian forces face are substantial long-range nuclear weapons assigned to the NATO theater: these include F-111 and Vulcan bombers, with a range of some 3,000 nautical miles; the British "independent" Polaris, which is assigned to NATO command, as well as (in Soviet perception) the French "independent" weapons; and the United States Poseidon, forty of which are also assigned to NATO command. These U.S. Poseidons each carry some ten independently targeted warheads. This is before we take into any account the U.S. carrier-based aircraft in the Mediterranean and further American strategic resources, which can be

attached to any particular theater at will.

The SS-20 is based on land and the Poseidon is based at sea, and, until lately, it had been supposed, in the war-games rooms, that they traded off against each other. What has happened is not the introduction of some wholly new dimension of threat (the SS-20 came into production in 1976, the Backfire bomber in 1974) but a redefinition of the rules of the game. Our Western experts have suddenly decided to hold their hands over Poseidon, Polaris, etc., and to pretend that they do not exist. This is done as a public information exercise, aimed not at the Russians but at us, to frighten us into believing that we are naked and defended by only a plan "still on paper" against Russian "monsters."



Russia and the Cruise

This is a contemptible exercise, since the truth could easily be ascertained by any editorial writer. And, indeed, any competent Russian editorialist can make a very much better case against cruise missiles than our "experts" can make against the SS-20. For the plain fact is that the critical accounting must be done, not between the Warsaw Pact and NATO (with the U.S.A. removed from the equation) but between the two giant superpowers. And in this accounting, the cruise missile can hit targets in western Russia, whereas the SS-20 can get nowhere near the U.S.A. Hence in Russian perception these lethal and accurate weapons, all under American control, are being given forward bases on the European continent where they can strike at Russian installations or cities, thus creeping beneath the "strategic" thresholds negotiated for the SALT II agreement.

Moreover, they can strike at Russia both fast and far. The Pershing II, from its West German bases, could descend on Russian targets in only four minutes. Mr. Pym, on that same telly fireside chat (June 17), assured the British peo-

ple, with tears in his eyes, that cruise missiles did not "escalate" nuclear armaments—no, not at all. For each cruise missile, one F-111 or older warhead would be withdrawn. What he neglected to mention was that the cruise can stretch into Russian territory some 500 miles deeper than the existing theater bombers. Where Vulcan bombers can hit Leningrad, the cruise and Pershing IIs can (like Polaris or Poseidon) hit Kiev, Moscow and beyond.

If I were a Russian this would seem to me like escalation. It might make me feel uneasy, just as, if the Russians had a category of very swift or accurate weapons that could just hit Buffalo and Rochester, and then replaced these with missiles with a stretch to reach Boston, New York and Philadelphia, Americans would feel uneasy also.

In Russian perception the placing of Pershing IIs, under U.S. operation, on the advanced soil of West Germany bears an exact analogy with Nikita Khrushchev's attempt to place missiles in Cuba. As Dr. Robert Havemann, a well-known East German champion of civil liberties and no kind of Russian apologist, has recently noted,

these missiles present to Russian military strategists a worst-case scenario in which the United States might launch a sudden pre-emptive strike simultaneously from Germany and from Alaska and take out the greater number of Soviet ICBMs in something less than ten minutes. Hence Europe, in 1981-83, will be living through a slow-motion "Cuban missile crisis" in reverse, when at any moment Leonid Brezhnev might remember the example of President Kennedy and reach for the button.

I am not suggesting that Russian missiles are not multiplying, nor that they are not menacing. They are both. The mobile SS-20, with its triple warhead, is a foul, unnecessary and threatening weapon, supported by arguments of "deterrence" quite as ugly as those of British or American "experts." The European Nuclear Disarmament movement (END), which is opposing cruise missiles, has made its opposition to the SS-20 equally clear. But I have been illustrating two different points. First, the logic of "deterrence," that compels both sides to play a never-ending game of leapfrog, justifying their actions at each stage by blaming the other, whereas in fact a good deal of the thrust to modernize weapons is planned quite independently (ten or twenty years ahead of the event) by the armorers of each side. Second, I have sought to emphasize that the whole basis of our information is corrupt, and that every official statement, on both sides, is either an official lie or a statement with direct propagandist intent that conceals as much as it reveals.

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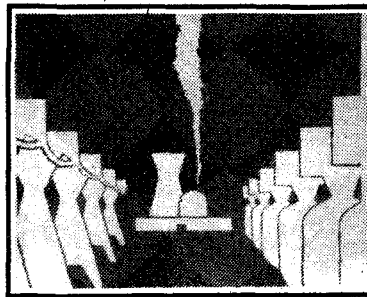
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Obscene Numbers Game

As to the actual facts of the nuclear balance, objective research by such bodies as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., gives rise to conclusions more complex than anything that we have been offered in our press or on our screens. Thus, in one count of strategic weapons, by individual bombers and missiles, the Soviet Union appears to be a little ahead of the United States, whereas by a different count of actual warheads (that is, MIRVs) the United States appears as having many more weapons (9,000 to 5,000) than Russia. This is, of course, before "modernization."

This counting is, in any case, nothing but nuclear war carried on by rhetorical

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means. Much of it consists in redefining unilaterally the counting rules, as in the NATO definition of a European theater in which only ground-launched missiles may be counted and submarine- or carrier-launched missiles are forgotten. It is also obscene and so irrational that only an academic "expert" could believe in it for one moment, since, as everyone knows, both sides already have enough missiles to exterminate each other many times over, and whatever chatter goes on about "surgical strikes" and "taking out" each other's case-hardened ICBM silos, the first rule of every war is always general balls-up (as the Iranian helicopter fiasco reminded us) and enough missiles will survive any attack on each side to finish off the other. As two more serious authors note in the current *Daedalus*, "a mere 1 percent of the Soviet strategic forces reaching the United States could destroy more than fifty of our largest cities (each to a far greater extent than Hiroshima)."

That the numbers game is obscene and irrational does not make it any less dangerous. For these are the terms in which the steady escalation of weaponry and the growing collision course of the superpowers are justified and rationalized. The apologists for this process are perhaps even more dangerous than are the manufacturers of the weapons or the generals who will order them to be fired. For they force us into a cul-de-sac at the end of which is only reciprocal extermination.

Leapfrog Logic

Whether the balance of evidence or perception is tilted toward the West or East (how many delivery systems, what worst-case expectations), the historical outcome is compressed within the same parameters: that is, the leapfrog logic of "deterrence," within which the hawks of each side feed to each other arms and provocations, strive for "parity," envisage fictitious "gaps" and "windows of opportunity," adumbrate through never-ending negotiations at the highest level elaborate devices of "control" (which their clever game-players then seek to evade or to turn to new advantage), and generate more thrust in the ongoing course toward collision.

The SS-20, as we have seen, is the theater missile which we are warned may strike Britain. Its destructive capacity is many times that of the bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima. This bomb

caused the deaths of 100,000 persons within hours, and of about a further 100,000 who have died subsequently, in the main from radiologically related diseases.

The SS-20 is reputed to be an accurate missile, although not as accurate as the cruise, and the C.E.P. might be down to a few hundred yards. But the meditated strategy of both sides is to send, not one accurate missile at each target but missiles in clutches of thirty or forty. The late arrivals will be buffeted about a good deal by the immense detonations of the first-comers (the ge-

nial expert jargon for this is missile "fratricide") so that the C.E.P. for a clutch is likely to be enlarged to several miles. Within the C.E.P. we must suppose some fifteen or twenty detonations at least on the scale of Hiroshima, which will then discharge immense quantities of radioactive effluvia over the surrounding countryside.

This is to suppose that the Soviet strike is homing on to clearly defined and immobile targets. But this is not the case. We are now told that the missiles will be carried in packs of four on mobile launching vehicles, and in times

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of "emergency" will be dispersed from their bases into the surrounding districts.

There has been a great deal of double talk about all these questions. On the one hand, we have been told that these are defensive weapons, which could never be used for a first strike. But if we are to suppose the Russians to be a hideous enemy, plotting an aggressive preemptive strike with "monsters," the packing away all these missiles at advertised bases (Greenham Common near Newbury, and Molesworth near Huntingdon) is to present them with perfect targets for two immense Pearl Harbors. And, equally, the sudden deployment of missile-launchers from these bases (which would be monitored by satellite observation) would be the signal to an enemy that the moment of emergency had come.

In any case, it may not matter all that much where the missiles are sited. In response to questions in the House of Commons, British Defense Minister Pym responded:

It is a mistake for anyone to think that the siting of a weapon in a particular place . . . makes it more or less vulnerable. We are all vulnerable in the horrifying event of a holocaust.

The American officers who alone will "own and operate" these missiles have indicated that they intend to spread and scatter them from 50 to 100 miles from the bases in emergency, so that the enemy will have to spread and scatter his strike over the same huge area in order to have any hopes of "eliminating" them.

Thus, if the Russians really wanted to find the cruise missile-launchers out, then there would have to be C.E.P.s dotted all across southern, central and eastern England. There is nothing very special being prepared by NATO for Newbury or Huntingdon: Luton, Sheerness and Southampton will be just as vulnerable, and there is no way of describing a series of nuclear strikes against cruise missiles except as a holocaust.

Misguided Missiles

This is before we take account of Lord Zuckerman's other variable—the 50 percent of strikes which would fall outside the Circular Error Probable. These will be missiles whose navigational or homing devices are inaccurate or which, perhaps, are brought down on their path. I have taken a ruler to a

map of Europe, and I cannot see any way in which an SS-20 dispatched from Russia could home in on Newbury without passing directly over central London.

If by misadventure a strike outside the C.E.P. fell on a major city, the damage would be considerable. Lord Mountbatten told an audience in Strasbourg in May 1979 that "one or two nuclear strikes on this great city . . . with what today would be regarded as relatively low-yield weapons would utterly destroy all that we see around us and immediately kill half of its population." And Lord Zuckerman adds that a single one-megaton bomb—and the warhead of the SS-20 is said to be one and a half megatons—"could erase the heart of any great city—say, Birmingham—and kill instantly a third of its citizens."

There is no room in Britain to "scatter" missiles without bringing multitudes into mortal danger, and there is no room to "search" without inflicting a holocaust. As Lord Zuckerman has said:

There are no vast deserts in Europe, no endless open plains, on which to turn war-games in which nuclear weapons are used into reality. The distances between villages are no greater than the radius of effect of low-yield weapons of a few kilotons; between towns and cities, say a megaton.

We are now at last prepared to cast a more realistic eye upon Professor Howard's scenario.

According to this, the "initially limited Soviet strike" might, in the absence of civil defense precautions, create conditions of "political turbulence" which would prevent "us" from using our own nuclear weapons in retaliation. This would be regrettable, since it would inhibit the escalation from tactical or theater to second-strike, sea-based nuclear war. But he envisages civil defense measures "on a scale sufficient to give protection to a substantial number of the population," enabling this number to endure the "disagreeable consequences" which would ensue.

The object of civil defense, then, is not so much to save lives as to reduce the potential for "political turbulence" of those surviving the first strike, in order to enable "us" to pass over to a second and more fearsome stage of nuclear warfare. It is Professor Howard's merit that he states this sequence

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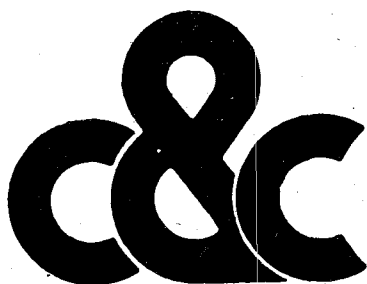
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honestly, as a realist, and even allows that the consequences will be disagreeable.

We are still entitled, however, to inquire more strictly as to what measures would be *on a scale sufficient*, what proportion of the population might constitute *a substantial number* and what may be indicated by the word *disagreeable*.

It is not as if nuclear weapons are a completely unknown quantity, which have only been tested in deserts and on uninhabited islands. They have been tested upon persons also, in 1945, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and to some effect. These effects have been studied with care, and the beneficiaries of this sudden donation of advanced technology were so much struck by the disagreeable consequences that they have continued to monitor the effects to the present day.

One remarkable consequence of those two detonations is that the survivors in those two cities, and the descendants of the sufferers, were transformed into advocates, not of revenge but of international understanding and peace. To this day, work for peace is regarded as a civic duty, and the mayors of Nagasaki and Hiroshima regard this work as the principal obligation of their office.

For example, in 1977 an International Symposium on the damage and after-effects of the bombing of these two cities was inaugurated, and a number of reports of this work are now in translation. I have read condensations of these, as well as other materials from Nagasaki.

It had been my intention to condense this material still further, and to remind readers of the effects of the first atomic bombings. I have now decided to pass this matter by, for two reasons. The first is that I have found the task beyond my powers as a writer. After reading these materials, whenever I approached my typewriter I was overcome by such a sense of nausea that I was forced to turn to some other task.

The second reason is that, at some point very deep in their consciousness, readers *already know* what the consequences of these weapons are. This knowledge is transmitted to children even in their infancy, so that as they run around with their space-weapons and death-rays they are re-enacting what happened thirty years before they were born.

Light, Blast and Fire

There is, however, one area of convenient forgetfulness in this inherited memory. The moment of nuclear detonation is remembered vaguely, as a sudden instant of light, blast and fire, in which instantly tens of thousands of lives were quenched. It is thought of as a stupendous but instantaneous moment of annihilation, without pain or emotional suffering.

But this is not accurate. It is now estimated that 140,000 were killed directly by the bomb on Hiroshima, and 70,000 by that on Nagasaki, with an allowance for error of 10,000 either way in each case. But the bombs were dropped on August 6 and 9, and the accounts for *immediate* casualties were closed on December 31, 1945. This reflects the fact that a very great number of these deaths—especially those from burns and radioactivity—took place slowly, in the days and weeks after the event.

Michiko Ogino, 10 years old, was left in charge of his younger sisters when his mother went out to the fields to pick eggplants. The bomb brought the house down on them all, leaving his 2-year-old sister with her legs pinned under a cross-beam:

Mamma was bombed at noon
When getting eggplants in the field,
Short, red and crisp her hair stood,
Tender and red her skin was all over.

So Mrs. Ogino, although the clothes were burned from her body and she had received a fatal dose of radiation, could still run back from the fields to succor her children. One after another, passing sailors and neighbors heaved at the beam to release the trapped 2-year-old, failed, and, bowing with Japanese courtesy, went on their way to help others.

Mother was looking down at my little sister. Tiny eyes looked up from below. Mother looked around, studying the way the beams were piled up. Then she got into an opening under the beam, and putting her right shoulder under a portion of it, she strained with all her might. We heard a cracking sound and the beams were lifted a little. My little sister's legs were freed.

Peeled off was the skin
over her shoulder
That once lifted the beam
off my sister.
Constant blood was spurting
From the sore flesh appearing . . .

Mrs. Ogino died that night. Fujio Tsujimoto, who was 5 years old, was in the playground of Yamazato Primary

School, Nagasaki, just before the bomb dropped. Hearing the sound of a plane he grabbed his grandmother's hand and they were the first into the deepest part of the air-raid shelter. The entrance to the shelter, as well as the playground, was covered with the dying. "My brothers and sisters didn't get to the shelter in time, so they were burnt and crying. Half an hour later, my mother appeared. She was covered with blood. She had been making lunch at home when the bomb was dropped."

My younger sisters died the next day. My mother—she also died the next day. And then my older brother died . . .

The survivors made a pile of wood on the playground and began to cremate the corpses. My brother was burned. Mother also was burned and quickly turned to white bones which dropped down among the live coals. I cried as I looked on the scene. Grandmother was also watching, praying with a rosary . . .

I am now in the fourth grade at Yamazato Primary School. That playground of terrible memories is now completely cleared and many friends play there happily. I play with my friends there too, but sometimes I suddenly remember that awful day. When I do, I squat down on the spot where we cremated our mother and touch the earth with my fingers. When I dig deep in the ground with a piece of bamboo, several pieces of charcoal appear. Looking at the spot for a while, I can dimly see my mother's image in the earth. So when I see someone else walking on that place, it makes me very angry.

I will not quote any more of the testimony of the children of Nagasaki (*Living Beneath the Atomic Cloud*). What it makes clear is that the "instant" of detonation was protracted over days and weeks, and was full, not only of physical misery but of unutterable yearning and suffering. A great river runs through Hiroshima, and each year the descendants set afloat on it lighted lanterns inscribed with the names of the family dead, and for several miles the full breadth of this river is one mass of flame.

After this we still have to consider the future tens of thousands who have died subsequently from the aftereffects of that day—chiefly leukemia, various cancers and diseases of the blood and digestive organs. The sufferers are known as *hibakashu*, a word which ought to be international. Some *hiba-*

kashu suffer from the direct consequences of wounds and burns, others from premature senility, others from blindness, deafness and dumbness, others are incapable of working because of nervous disorders and many are seriously mentally deranged. Only two comforts can be derived from the expert *Nagasaki Report*: *hibakashu* have been distinguished by their mutual aid, sometimes in communities of fellow-sufferers, and the genetic effects of the bomb (which are still being studied) do not as yet appear to have been as bad as was at first apprehended.

Ground Zero: Britain

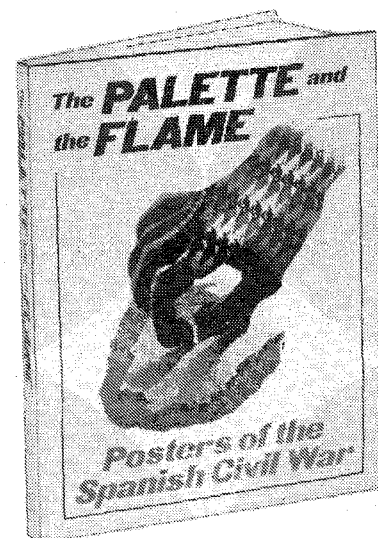
We may now push this distressing matter back into our subconscious and reconsider the possible effect of "a series of pre-emptive strikes" with scores of weapons very much more powerful than those bombs, upon my own country.

It is true that the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were very little prepared for this advanced technology and, indeed, in Nagasaki the "All Clear" had sounded shortly before the detonation, so that the populace had trooped out of their conventional shelters and the women were working in the fields and the children playing in the playgrounds when the bomb went off.

Our own authorities might be able to manage the affair better. With greater warning, stronger houses and with some more effective measures of civil defense, some lives might be saved, and perhaps even "a substantial number." Indeed, two Conservative M.P.s have calculated that effective measures might reduce deaths in a nuclear war in Britain from about thirty-five million to just twenty million, and I will allow that fifteen million in savings is a substantial number indeed.

Nevertheless, two comments must be made on this. The first is that the death or mortal injury of even the small figure of twenty million (or one-third of the British population) might still give rise to conditions of "turbulence." The incidence of disaster would not be evenly spread across the country, with hale and hearty survivors in all parts standing ready, with high morale, to endure the hazards of the second strike.

Air Marshal Sir Leslie Mavor, Principal of the British Home Defense College, addressing a civil defense seminar in 1977, said that "the main target areas would be so badly knocked about as to



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be beyond effective self-help. They would have to be more or less discounted until adjoining areas recovered sufficiently to come to their aid." Those parts of the country "holding no nuclear targets" might come through "more or less undamaged by blast or fire. Their difficulties would be caused by fallout radiation, a large influx of refugees, survival without external supplies of food, energy, raw materials."

This seems a realistic assessment. There would be some total disaster areas, from the margins of which the wounded and dying would flee as refugees; other intermediate areas would have energy supplies destroyed, all transport dislocated and persons, food and water contaminated by fallout; yet others would be relatively immune. But even in these immune areas there would be some persons in a state of hysterical terror, who would be ready (if they knew how) to intervene to prevent the second stage of Professor Howard's scenario.

'Protect and Survive'

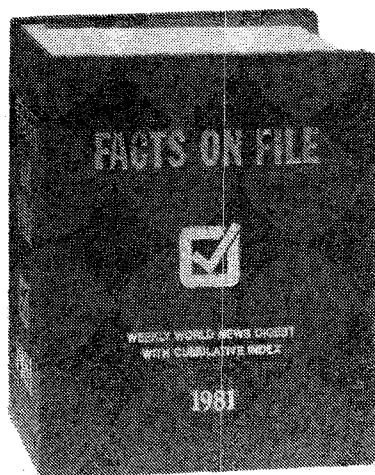
The second comment is that we do not yet have any realistic notion of what

might be a scale sufficient to effect substantial savings, nor what measure might be taken. We may certainly agree with the professor that no such measures are either planned or contemplated. Measures have been taken to insure the survival of the high personnel of the state. This has long been evident. There will be bunkers for senior politicians, civil servants and military, and deep hidey-holes for regional centers of military government. That is very comforting.

The population of Britain, however, will not be invited to these bunkers, and it is an official secret to say where they are. The population will be sent off with a do-it-yourself booklet (*Protect and Survive**), to wait in their own homes. They will be advised to go down to the ground floor or the cellar and make a cubbyhole there with old doors and planks, cover it with sandbags, books and heavy furniture and the creep into these holes with food and water for fourteen days, a portable radio, a portable latrine and, of course, a can opener.

I have for long wondered why socio-

* An official British civil defense brochure.



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ogists and demographers keep writing about "the nuclear family," but now it is all at length set down and explained.

Now this might save some lives, but it will also make for an unhappy end to others. For the principal effects of nuclear weapons are very intense heat, blast and radioactive emissions. Within a certain distance of the center of the detonation all houses, cars, clothes, the hair on dogs, cats and persons, and so on, will spontaneously ignite, while at the same time the blast will bring the houses tumbling down about the cubby-holes. We must envisage many thousands of nuclear families listening to consensual homilies on their portable radios as they are baked, crushed or suffocated to death.

Those outside this radius might be afforded a little temporary protection. But when they eventually emerge (after some fourteen days) they will find the food and water contaminated, the roads blocked, the hospitals destroyed, the livestock dead or dying. The vice chairman of Civil Aid, who is a realist, advises thus: "If you saw a frog running about, you would have to wash it down to get rid of active dust, cook it and eat it."

If we are to learn from the experience of the people of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, then I think it is, after all, unlikely that many survivors will be devoting their energies to "political turbulence," since, unless they know the entrances to the governmental deep bunkers, they will have nothing to turn against. Most will be wandering here and there in a desperate attempt to find lost children, parents, neighbors, friends. A few of the most collected will succor the dying and dig among the ruins for the injured.

The measures outlined in *Protect and Survive* do not seem to me to be on a scale sufficient to reduce the consequences of a nuclear strike to the compass of a small word like "disagreeable." It is possible to imagine measures on a greater scale. One might imagine the excavation of vast subterranean systems beneath our towns, complete with stored food and water, generating systems, air-purifying systems, etc.

This might save a substantial number of lives, although one is uncertain what it would save them for, since above-ground no workplaces, uncontaminated crops or stock would be left. The logic of this development, then, will be to remove these activities underground also, with subterranean cattle-stalls,

granaries, bakeries and munitions works.

It is certainly possible that, if civilization survives and continues on its present trajectory until the mid-twenty-first century, then the "advanced" societies will have become troglodyte in some such fashion. But it would not be advisable to suppose that our descendants will have then at length attained to "security," in the simultaneous realization of the ultimate in "deterrence" with the ultimate in "defense." For the

military will by then have taken further steps in technology. Earth penetrators already exist which can drive death underground. All this will be perfected, modernized and refined. There will be immense thermonuclear charges capable of concussing a whole underground city. And, in any case, by the time that humanity becomes troglodyte, it will then have been already defeated. "Civilization" will then be an archaic term, which children can no longer construe.



■ PART II

Little Theater Wars: Expendable Europe

We must now turn our attention to the second assumption which underpins the arguments of our defense "experts." This concerns "tactical" or "limited" theater nuclear war.

This theory supposes a nuclear war confined to a specific theater—and Europe is the theater most often mentioned—with a range of nuclear "options" and with a progressive series of "fire-breaks." It supposes the aforementioned "chain of deterrence," according to which war may not only start at any level but may be confined to that level, since at any point there is a further fear-some threshold of "deterrence" ahead. Hence it envisages a theater nuclear war which does not escalate to outright confrontation between the superpowers.

This is not the same as the proposal that local or regional wars with nuclear weapons may take place. That is a reasonable proposal. If the proliferation of these weapons continues, it is possible that we will see such wars: as between Israel and Arab states, or South Africa and an alliance of African states. Whether such wars lead on to confrontation between the superpowers will depend, not upon the logic of weaponry but on further diplomatic and political considerations.

This proposition is different. It is that nuclear wars between the two great opposed powers and their allies could be confined to this or that level. This is a silly notion at first sight; and, after tedious and complex arguments have been gone through, it emerges as equally silly at the end. For while it might very well

be in the interests of either the United States or of the U.S.S.R. to confine a war to Europe, or to the Persian Gulf, and to prevent it from passing into an ultimate confrontation, we are not dealing here with rational behavior.

Once theater nuclear war commences, immense passions, indeed hysterias, will be aroused. After even the first strikes of such a war, communications and command posts will be so much snarled up that any notion of rational planning will give way to panic. Ideology will at once take over from self-interest. Above all, it will be manifest that the only one of the two great powers likely to come out of the contest as victor must be the one which hurls its ballistic weapons first, farthest and fastest—and preferably before the weapons of the other have had time to lift off.



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This was the common-sense message which Lord Mountbatten, shortly before he was murdered, conveyed to the meeting in Strasbourg. He referred to the introduction of tactical or theater weapons:

The belief was that were hostilities ever to break out in Western Europe, such weapons could be used in field warfare without triggering an all-out nuclear exchange leading to the final holocaust.

I have never found this idea credible. I have never been able to accept the reasons for the belief that any class of nuclear weapons can be categorized in terms of their tactical or strategic purposes . . .

In the event of a nuclear war there will be no chances, there will be no survivors—all will be obliterated. I am not asserting this without having deeply thought about the matter. When I was Chief of the British Defense Staff I made my views known . . . I repeat in all sincerity as a military man I can see no use for any nuclear weapons which would not end in escalation, with consequences that no one can conceive.

The same firm judgment was expressed by Lord Zuckerman: "Nor was I ever able to see any military reality in what is now referred to as theater or tactical warfare":

The men in the nuclear laboratories of both sides have succeeded in creating a world with an irrational foundation, on which a new set of political realities has in turn had to be built. They have become the alchemists of our times, working in secret ways which cannot be divulged, casting spells which embrace us all.

The notion of a limited nuclear war has been around for a long time in American strategic thinking, under such names as "flexible response" or "counterforce." It is, perhaps, the most dangerous, as it is the most irrational, of all the spells that the "alchemists" have cast. For it is in the name of "surgical strikes" and "menus" of "options" that nuclear warfare is being made thinkable—and therefore possible or even probable—once more.

Double-Edged Deterrence

There are two distinct propositions which have been hidden within the single term: "deterrence." The first proposition is that of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), and it is that nuclear weapons are capable of inflicting such "unacceptable damage" upon

both parties to an exchange that mutual fear insures peace. The second proposition is that each party is actually preparing for nuclear war, and is ceaselessly searching for some ultimate weapon or tactical/strategic point of advantage which would assure its victory.

For a long time the second proposition has been hidden within the mendacious vocabulary of "deterrence," and behind its veils of "posture," "credibility" and "bluff" it has waxed fat. For years we have lived uneasily with the first proposition. Now the second proposition has come of age, and we are looking directly into its eyes.

"Deterrence" has plausibility. It has "worked" for thirty years, if not in Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, the Middle East, Africa, Cambodia, the Dominican Republic, Afghanistan, then in the central fracture between the superpowers which runs across Europe. It may have inhibited, in Europe, major conventional war.

But it has not worked as a stationary state. The weapons for adequate deterrence already existed thirty years ago, and, as the Pope reminded us in his New Year's message for 1980, only 200 of the 50,000 nuclear weapons now estimated to be in existence would be enough to destroy the world's major cities. Yet we have moved upward to 50,000, and each year new sophistications and "modernizations" are introduced.

The current chatter about theater or tactical nuclear war is not a sophisticated variant of the old vocabulary of deterrence; it is directly at variance with that vocabulary. For it is founded on the notion that either of the superpowers might engage, to its own advantage, in a limited nuclear war which could be kept below the threshold at which retribution would be visited on its own soil.

Thus it is thought by persons in the Pentagon that a theater nuclear war might be confined to Europe, in which, to be sure, America's NATO allies would be obliterated, but in which immense damage would also be inflicted upon Russia west of the Urals, while the soil of the United States remained immune. (In such a scenario it is even supposed that President Reagan and Mr. Brezhnev would be on the hot line to each other while Europe scorched, threatening ultimate intercontinental ballistic retribution, but at last making peace.) This has been seen as the way to a great victory for the West, and if worldwide nuclear war seems to be ulti-

nately inevitable, then the sooner that can be aborted by having a little theater war the better.

The trouble with all this, from the Pentagon's point of view, is that it requires rewriting the war games-plan, and in this rewriting Soviet strategists have been unaccountably uncooperative. Mr. Lawrence Freedman, who is head of Policy Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and who is evidently a very great expert, noted in *The Times* of London (March 16, 1980):

Recent moves in NATO have encouraged plans for selective, discrete strikes rather than all-out exchanges. . . . Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has shown little interest in Western ideas on limited nuclear war.

"Missiles in Western Europe would give the American President an intermediate option," stopping short of 'putting American cities at risk,' writes another expert, Mr. Trevorton of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. And President Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, discussed the reviews of "our nuclear targeting plans" in the course of an interview in the *Sunday New York Times* (March 30, 1980):

All of these reviews are designed . . . to avoid a situation in which the President would be put under irresistible pressure to preempt, to avoid

leaving the United States only the options of yielding or engaging in a spasmodic and apocalyptic nuclear exchange.

Question: Are you saying that you want the United States to be able to fight a "limited" nuclear war?

Brzezinski: I am saying that the United States, in order to maintain effective deterrence, has to have choices which give us a wider range of options than either a spasmodic nuclear exchange or a limited conventional war.

That is a politician's way of saying "yes." European war is to be one "choice" or "option" for U.S. strategists, although what might appear to be limited on one side of the Atlantic might appear to be spasmodic and apocalyptic on the other.

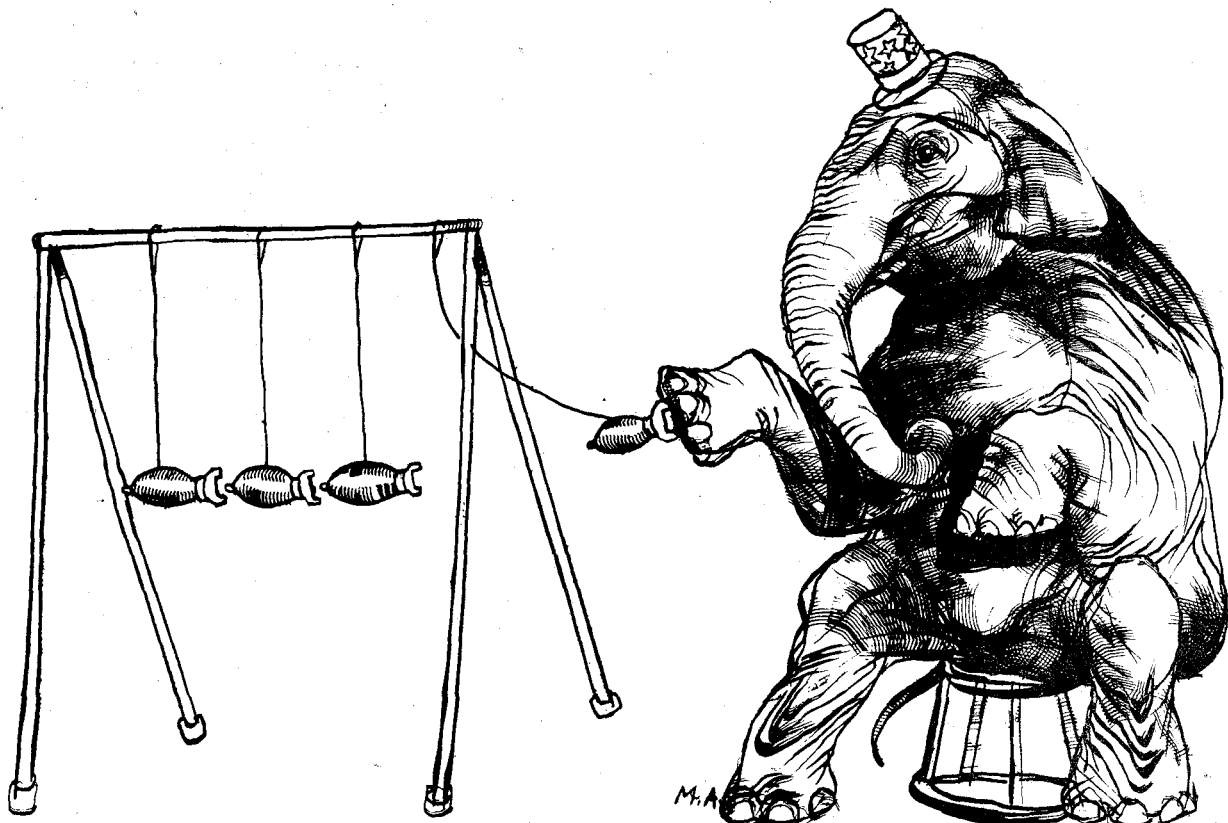
Strategic Doctrine

In this perspective the famous Presidential Directive 59 (as to which, it seems, Secretary of State Edmund Muskie was not even consulted) is only a confirmation of a longstanding Pentagon policy. The Secretary of Defense, Harold Brown, was at pains to make this clear in a speech at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, on August 20, 1980. The Directive (he said) was only "a refinement, a codification of previous statements of our strategic policy," although accompanied by "a fundamental review of our targeting

policy." As a settled statement of "the same essential strategic doctrine" of the Pentagon, we may expect it to survive the change of administrations, and to be zealously furthered by President Reagan's Administration also.

What is less comforting, for a European, is Brown's statement that "in our analysis and planning, we are necessarily giving greater attention to how a nuclear war would actually be fought," with "more stress on being able to employ strategic nuclear forces selectively." For the cruise and Pershing missiles which are being set up in Western Europe, under sole American ownership and control, are the hardware designed for exactly such a limited war, and the nations which harbor them are viewed, in this strategy, as launching platforms which are expendable in the interests of Western defense. While Russia might not wish to rewrite the games-plan, since some of its most populous and highly industrialized regions are *within* the theater whereas all of the United States is not, nevertheless (it is supposed) its hand might be forced if faced with the alternatives of such a war or of outright ICBM obliteration.

If all this sounds crazy, then I can only agree that crazy is exactly what it is. But, then, as a frequent visitor to the United States I must report that there is a dangerous tendency to craziness in the American view of the world. Protected



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geographically by two huge oceans, on a continent that has never been invaded or even subjected to aerial attack, the people suffer from a diminished reality-sense in which wars are always something that happen "over there." These illusions are fed with massive media propaganda, and are excited by electoral humbug, until crowds can shout (of the Iranians) "Nuke them!" without any notion of what the words mean. It is against all this that the generous and responsible American peace movement has to work.

Nuclear Maginot Line

Cruise and Pershing missiles are *committing*: strategically and also politically. They place Europeans, with finality, within the games-plan of the Pentagon. In each and every crisis, a Pentagon finger will be on the West European trigger: one barrel may be aimed at Russia, but the other will be aimed at Europe's own head. It is for this reason that Senator Nino Pasti, formerly an Italian member of the NATO Military Committee and Deputy Supreme Commander for NATO Nuclear Affairs, has declared: "I have no doubt that the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe represent the worst danger for the peoples of the continent. In plain words, the tactical nuclear weapon would be employed in the view of NATO to limit the war to Europe. Europe is to be transformed into a 'nuclear Maginot line' for the defense of the United States."

Meanwhile, the United States is urgently seeking similar platforms in the Middle East for another small theater war which might penetrate deep into the Caucasus. And an even uglier scenario is beginning to show itself in China, where greed for a vast arms market is tempting Western salesmen while U.S. strategists hope to nudge Russia and China into war with each other—a war which would dispel another Western phobia, the demographic explosion of the East. The idea here is to extract the West, at the last moment, from this war—much the same scenario as that which went disastrously wrong in 1939.

These little theater wars (not one of which would obediently stay put in its theater) are now all on the drawing boards, and in the Pentagon more than in the Kremlin, for the simple reason that every theater is adjacent to the Soviet Union, and any tactical nuclear strike would pene-

trate deep into Russian territory.

The plans for the European theater war are not only ready—the modernized missiles designed for exactly such war have been ordered, and will be delivered to Europe in 1983. And at this moment, the advocates of civil defense make a corresponding *political* intervention. Let us see why this is so.

Thinking the Unthinkable

These advocates wish to hurry people across a threshold of mental expectation, so that they may be prepared, not for deterrence but for actual nuclear war.

The expectations supporting the theory of deterrence are, in the final analysis, that deterrence will *work*. Deterrence is effective, because the alternative is not only "unacceptable" or "disagreeable": it is "unthinkable."

Deterrence is a posture, but it is the posture of MAD, not of menace. It does not say, "If we go to nuclear war we intend to win." It says, "Do not go to war, or provoke war, because neither of us can win." In consequence it does not bother to meddle with anything as futile as civil defense. If war commences, everything is already lost.

Those who have supported the policy of deterrence have done so in the confidence that this policy would prevent nuclear war from taking place. They have not contemplated the alternative and have been able to avoid facing certain questions raised by that alternative. Of these, let us notice three.

First, is nuclear war preferable to being overcome by the enemy? Are the deaths of fifteen or twenty million and the utter destruction of the country preferable to an occupation which might offer the possibility, after some years, of resurgence and recuperation?

Second, are we ourselves prepared to endorse the use of such weapons against the innocent, the children and the aged of an "enemy"?

Third, how does it happen that Britain should find itself committed to policies which endanger the very survival of the nation, as a result of decisions taken by a secret committee of NATO, and then endorsed at Brussels without public discussion or parliamentary sanction, leaving the "owning and operation" of these weapons in the hands of the military personnel of a foreign power, a power whose strategists have contingency plans for unleashing these missiles in a theater war which

would not extend as far as their own homeland?

The first two questions raise moral, and not strategic, issues. My own answer to them is "no." They are, in any case, not new questions. The third question is, in some sense, new, and it is also extraordinary, in the sense that even proposing the question illuminates the degree to which the loss of British national sovereignty has become absolute, and democratic process has been deformed in ways scarcely conceivable twenty years ago.

But arguments such as those of Professor Howard are designed to hurry us past these questions without noticing them. They are designed to carry us across a threshold from the *unthinkable* (the theory of deterrence, founded upon the assumption that this must *work*) to the *thinkable* (the theory that nuclear

war may happen, and may be imminent and, with cunning tactics and proper preparations, might end in "victory").

More than this, the arguments are of an order which permit the mind to progress from the unthinkable to the thinkable *without thinking*—without confronting the arguments, their consequences or probable conclusions and, indeed, without knowing that any threshold has been crossed.

At each side of this threshold we are offered a policy with an identical label: "deterrence." And both policies stink with the same mendacious rhetoric—"posture," "credibility," "bluff." But mutual fear and self-interest predominate on one side, and active menace and the ceaseless pursuit of tactical or theater advantage predominate on the other. Which other side we have crossed over to, and now daily inhabit.



■ PART III

Overthrowing the Satanic Kingdom

I have sought in these pages to open up the arguments of the defense "experts," to show what is inside them, which premises and what conclusions. I have not been trying to frighten readers but to show the consequences to which these arguments lead.

Although I am myself by conviction a socialist of William Morris's sort, I have not been grounding my arguments upon premises of that kind. And I certainly do not suppose that all blame for the desperate situation of the world lies with the ideological malice and predatory drives of the capitalist "West," although some part of it does.

I have based my arguments on the *logic* of the cold war, or of the deterrent situation itself. We may favor this or that explanation for the origin of this situation. But once this situation has arisen, there is a common logic at work in both blocs. Military technology and military strategy come to impose their own agenda upon political developments.

This is an interoperative and reciprocal logic, which threatens all, impartially. If you press me for my own view, then I would hazard that the Russian state is now the most dangerous in relation to its own people and to the people

of its client states. The rulers of Russia are police-minded and security-minded people, imprisoned within their own ideology, accustomed to meet argument with repression and tanks. But the basic postures of the Soviet Union seem to me, still, to be those of siege and aggressive defense; and even the brutal and botched intervention in Afghanistan appears to have followed upon apprehension as to U.S. and Chinese strategies.

The United States seems to me to be more dangerous and provocative in its general military and diplomatic strategies, which press around the Soviet Union with menacing bases. It is in Washington, rather than in Moscow, that scenarios are dreamed up for theater wars; and it is in America that the alchemists of superkill, the clever technologists of "advantage" and ultimate weapons, press forward "the politics of tomorrow."

Reciprocal Logic

But we need not ground our own actions on a preference for one or the other bloc. This is unrealistic and could be divisive. What is relevant is the logic of process common to both, reinforcing the ugliest features of each other's societies, and locking both together in each other's nuclear arms

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in the same degenerative drift.

It is in this sense that NATO's modernization program, and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, taken together, may perhaps be seen as a textbook case of the reciprocal logic of the cold war. NATO's plans were certainly perceived by Soviet leaders as menacing, and vigorous efforts were made by Brezhnev and others to prevent them. This perception of menace hardened, on December 12, 1979, when NATO endorsed the full program at Brussels—and when, in the meantime, the U.S. Senate, under pressure from the arms lobby, failed to ratify SALT II. In response, the hard arguments and the hard men had their way among the Soviet leadership and, two weeks later, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan took place. NATO modernization was not a decisive factor, in the view of the Russian historian Roy Medvedev (to whom I addressed some questions last June), since the intervention in Afghanistan had been meditated and prepared over a much longer period. But it signaled to those Soviet leaders who favored the military option that, in relation to Europe, they now had nothing to lose.

Language of Death

Throughout this essay I have been attempting to disclose this reciprocal logic of process, which is driven forward by the armorers of both superpowers. And what I have been contending is this: First, I have shown that the premises of nuclear deterrence are *irrational*.

Second, I have been concerned throughout with the use of *language*.

What makes the extinction of civilized life in Europe probable is not a greater propensity for evil than in previous history but a more formidable destructive technology, a deformed political process (East and West) and also a deformed culture.

The deformation of culture commences within language itself. It makes possible a disjunction between the rationality and moral sensibility of individual persons and the effective political and military process. A certain kind of "realist" and "technical" vocabulary effects a closure which seals out the imagination, and prevents the reason from following the most manifest sequence of cause and consequence. It habituates the mind to nuclear holocaust by reducing everything to a flat

level of normality. By habituating us to certain expectations, it not only encourages resignation—it also beckons on the event.

"Humankind cannot bear very much reality," T.S. Eliot wrote. As much of reality as most of us can bear is what is most proximate to us—our self-interest and our immediate affections. What threatens our interests—what causes us even mental unease—is seen as outside ourselves, as the Other. We can kill thousands because we have first learned to call them "the enemy." Wars commence in our culture first of all, and we kill each other in euphemisms and abstractions long before the first missiles have been launched.

It has never been true that nuclear war is "unthinkable." It has been thought and the thought has been put into effect. This was done in 1945, in the name of allies fighting for the Four Freedoms (although what those Freedoms were I cannot now recall), and was done upon two populous cities. It was done by professing Christians when the Allies had already defeated the Germans, and when victory against the Japanese was certain, in the longer or shorter run. The longer run would have cost some thousands more Western lives, whereas the short run (the bomb) would cost the lives only of enemy Asians. This was perfectly thinkable. It was thought. And action followed on.

What is unthinkable is that nuclear war could happen to *us*. So long as we can suppose that this war will be inflicted only on *them*, the thought comes easily. And if we can also suppose that this war will save "our" lives, or serve our self-interest, or even save us (if we live in California) from the tedium of queuing every other day for gasoline, then the act can easily follow on. We *think* others to death as we define them as the Other: the enemy: Asians: Marxists: non-people. The deformed human mind is the ultimate doomsday weapon—it is out of the human mind that the missiles and the neutron warhead come.

For this reason it is necessary to enter a remonstrance against those who use this kind of language and adopt these mental postures. They are preparing our minds as launching platforms for exterminating thoughts. The fact that Soviet ideologists are doing much the same (thinking us to death as "imperialists" and "capitalists") is no defense.

Deformities of Culture

It is therefore proper to ask such experts to resist the contamination of our culture with those terms which precede the ultimate act. The deaths of fifteen million fellow citizens ought not to be described as "disagreeable consequences." A war confined to Europe ought not to be given the euphemisms of "limited" or "theater." The development of more deadly weapons, combined with menacing diplomatic postures and major new political and strategic decisions, ought not to be concealed within the anodyne technological term of "modernization." The threat to erase the major cities of Russia and East Europe ought not to trip easily off the tongue as "unacceptable damage."

I am thinking of that great number of persons who very much dislike what is going on in the actual world, but who dislike the vulgarity of exposing themselves to the business of "politics" even more. They erect both sets of dislikes around their desks or laboratories like a screen, and get on with their work and their careers. I am not asking these, or all of them, to march around the place or to spend hours in weary little meetings. I am asking them to examine the deformities of our culture and then, in public places, to demur.

I will recommend some forms of action, although every person must be governed in this by his or her own conscience and aptitudes. But, first, I should offer a scenario of my own.

I have come to the view that a general nuclear war is not only possible but probable, and that its probability is increasing. We may indeed be approaching a point of no return when the existing tendency or disposition toward this outcome becomes irreversible.

I ground this view upon two considerations, which we may define (to borrow the terms of our opponents) as "tactical" and "strategic."

By tactical I mean that the political and military conditions for such war exist now in several parts of the world; the proliferation of nuclear weapons will continue, and will be hastened by the export of nuclear energy technology to new markets, and the rivalry of the superpowers is directly inflaming these conditions.

Such conditions now exist in the Middle East and around the Persian Gulf, will shortly exist in Africa, while in

Southeast Asia Russia and China have already engaged in wars by proxy with each other, in Cambodia and Vietnam.

Such wars might stop just short of general nuclear war between the superpowers. And in their aftermath the great powers might be frightened into better behavior for a few years. But so long as this behavior rested on nothing more than mutual fear, then military technology would continue to be refined, more hideous weapons would be invented, and the opposing giants would enlarge their control over client states. The strategic pressures toward confrontation will continue to grow.

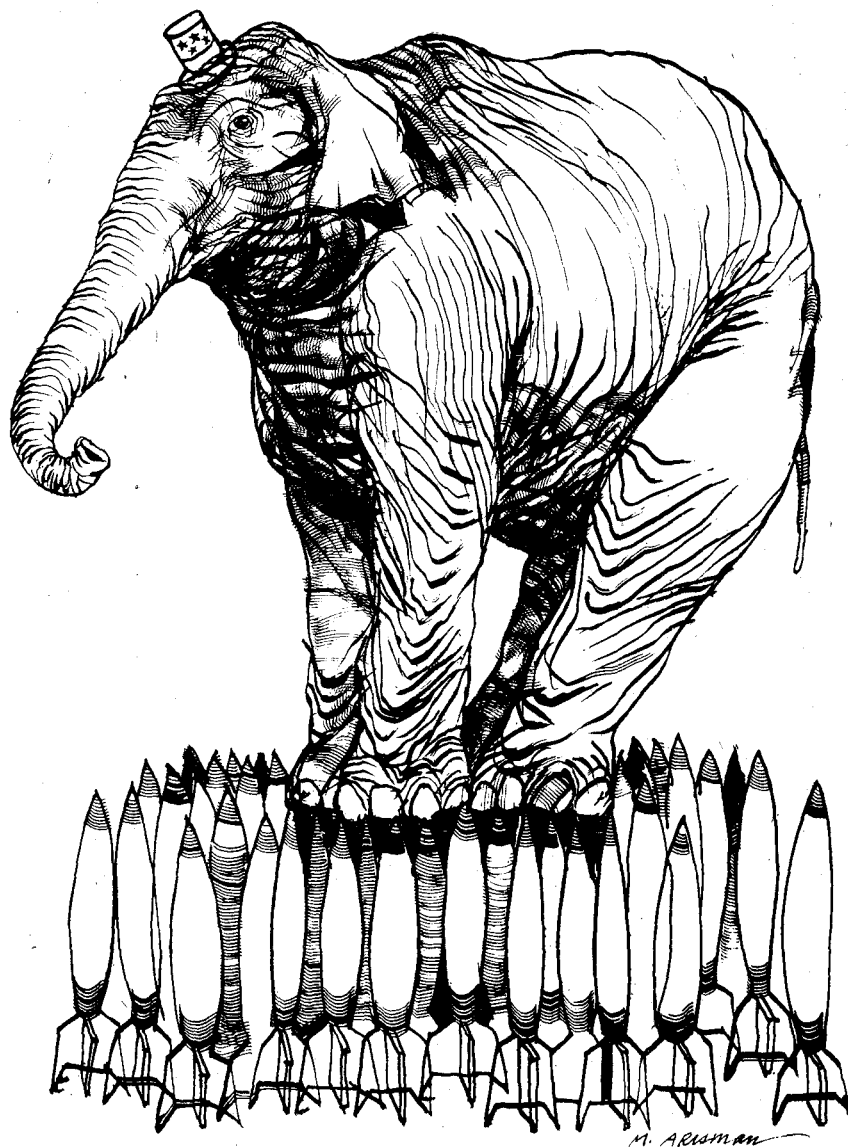
These *strategic* considerations are the gravest of the two. They rest upon a historical view of power and of the social process, rather than upon the instant analysis of the commentator on events.

In this view it is a superficial judg-

ment, and a dangerous error, to suppose that deterrence has worked. Very possibly it may have worked, at this or that moment, in preventing recourse to war. But in its very mode of working, and in its "postures," it has brought on a series of consequences within its host societies.

Deterrence is not a stationary state, it is a degenerative state. Deterrence has repressed the export of violence toward the opposing bloc, but in doing so the repressed power of the state has turned back upon its own author. The repressed violence has backed up and worked its way into the economy, the polity, the ideology and the culture of the opposing powers. This is the deep structure of the cold war.

The logic of this deep structure of mutual fear was clearly identified by William Blake in his Song of Experience "The Human Abstract":



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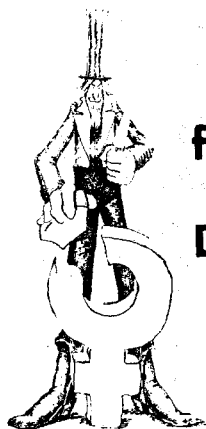
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And mutual fear brings peace;
Till the selfish loves increase.
Then Cruelty knits a snare,
And spreads his baits with care . . .

Soon spreads the dismal shade
Of Mystery over his head;
And the Catterpillar and Fly
Feed on the Mystery.

And it bears the fruit of Deceit,
Ruddy and sweet to eat;
And the Raven his nest has made
In its thickest shade.

In this logic, the peace of "mutual fear" enforces opposing self-interests, affords room for "Cruelty" to work, engenders "Mystery" and its parasites, brings to fruit the "postures" of Deceit, and the death-foreboding Raven hides within the Mystery.

Within the logic of deterrence, millions are now employed in the armed services, security organs and military economy of the opposing blocs, and corresponding interests exert immense influence within the councils of the great powers. Mystery envelops the operation of the technological alchemists. Deterrence has become normal, and minds have been habituated to the vocabulary of mutual extermination. And within this normality, hideous cultural abnormalities have been nurtured and are growing to full girth.

The menace of nuclear war reaches far back into the economies of both parties, dictating priorities and awarding power. Here, in failing economies, will be found the most secure and vigorous sectors, tapping the most advanced technological skills of both opposed societies and diverting these away from peaceful and productive employment or from efforts to close the great gap between the world's north and south. Here also will be found the driving rationale for expansionist programs in unsafe nuclear energy, programs which cohabit comfortably with military nuclear technology whereas the urgent research into safe energy supplies from sun, wind or wave are neglected because they have no military payoff. Here, in this burgeoning sector, will be found the new expansionist drive for markets for arms, as capitalist and socialist powers compete to feed into the Middle East, Africa and Asia more sophisticated means of killing.

State of Perpetual Threat

The menace of this stagnant state of violence backs up also into the polity of both halves of the world. Permanent

threat and periodic crisis press the men of the military-industrial interests, by differing routes in each society, toward the top. Crisis legitimates the enlargement of the security functions of the state, the intimidation of internal dissent and the imposition of secrecy and the control of information. As the natural lines of social and political development are repressed, and affirmative perspectives are closed, so internal politics collapses into squabbling interest groups, all of which are subordinated to the overarching interests of the state of perpetual threat.

All this may be readily observed. It may be observed even in failing Britain, across whose territory are now scattered the bases, airfields, camps, research stations, submarine depots, communications-interception stations, radar screens, security and intelligence HQs, munitions works—secure and expanding employment in an economic climate of radical insecurity.

What we cannot observe so well—for we ourselves are the object which must be observed—is the manner in which three decades of deterrence, of mutual fear, mystery and state-endorsed stagnant hostility, have backed up into our culture and our ideology. Imagination has been numbed, language and values have been fouled by the postures and expectations of the deterrent state. But this is matter for a close and scrupulous inquiry.

These, then, are among the strategic considerations which lead me to the view that the probability of great-power nuclear warfare is strong and increasing. I do not argue from this local episode or that: what happened yesterday in Afghanistan and what is happening now in Pakistan or North Yemen. I argue from a general and sustained historical process, an accumulative logic, of a kind made familiar to me in the study of history. The episodes lead in this direction or that, but the general logic of process is always toward nuclear war.

The local crises are survived, and it seems as if the decisive moment—either of war or of peacemaking and reconciliation—has been postponed and pushed forward into the future. But what has been pushed forward is always worse. Both parties change for the worse. The weapons are more terrible, the means for their delivery more clever. The notion that a war might be fought to "advantage," that it might be "won,"

ains ground. There is even a tremor of excitement in our culture as though, subconsciously, humankind has lived with the notion for so long that expectations without actions have become boring. The human mind, even when it resists, assents more easily to its own defeat. All moves on its degenerative course, as if the outcome of civilization as as determined as is the outcome of its sentence: in a full stop.

Protest—to Survive

I am reluctant to accept that this determinism is absolute. But if my arguments are correct, then we cannot put off the matter any longer. We must throw whatever resources still exist in human culture across the path of this degenerative logic. We must protest if we are to survive. Protest is the only realistic form of civil defense.

We must generate an alternative logic, an opposition at every level of society. This opposition must be international and it must win the support of multitudes. It must bring its influence to bear upon the rulers of the world. It must act, in very different conditions, within each national state, and, on occasion, it must directly confront its own national state apparatus.

The campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament, which is already gaining active support in many parts of Western Europe, as well as a more cautious attention in some parts of Eastern Europe, has as an objective the creation of an expanding zone freed from nuclear weapons and bases. It aims to expel these weapons from the soil and waters of both East and West Europe, and to press the missiles, in the first place, back to the Urals and to the Atlantic Ocean.

The tactics of this campaign will be both national and international.

In the national context, each peace movement will proceed directly to contest the nuclear weapons deployed by its own state, or by NATO or Warsaw Pact obligations upon its own soil. Its actions will not be qualified by any notion of diplomatic bargaining. Its opposition to the use of nuclear weapons by its own state will be absolute. Its demands upon its own state for disarmament will be unilateral.

In the international, and especially in the European context, each national movement will exchange information and delegations, will support and challenge each other. The movement will encourage a European consciousness, in

common combat for survival, fostering informal communication at every level, and disregarding national considerations of interest or security.

It is evident that this logic will develop unevenly. The national movements will not grow at the same pace, nor be able to express themselves in identical ways. Each success of a unilateral kind—by Holland in refusing NATO cruise missiles or by Rumania or Poland in distancing themselves from Soviet strategies—will be met with an outcry that it serves the advantage of one or the other bloc.

This outcry must be disregarded. It cannot be expected that initiatives on one side will be met with instant reciprocation from the other. Very certainly, the strategists of both blocs will seek to turn the movement to their own advantage. The logic of peacemaking will be as uneven, and as fraught with emergencies and contingencies, as the logic which leads on to war.

In particular, the movement in West and East Europe will find very different expression. In the West we envisage popular movements engaged in a direct contest with the policies of their own national states. At first, Soviet ideol-

ogues may look benignly upon this, anticipating a weakening of NATO preparations which are matched by no actions larger than "peace-loving" rhetoric from the East.

Rhetoric into Acts

But we are confident that our strategy can turn this rhetoric into acts. In Eastern Europe there are profound pressures for peace, for greater democracy and international exchange and for relief from the heavy burden of siege economies. For a time these pressures may be contained by the repressive measures of national and Soviet security services. Only a few courageous dissidents will, in the first place, be able to take an open part in our common work.

Yet to the degree that the peace movement in the West can be seen to be effective, it will afford support and protection to our allies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It will provide those conditions of relaxation of tension which will weaken the rationale and legitimacy of repressive state measures, and will allow the pressures for democracy and détente to assert themselves in more active and open ways. Moreover, as an intrinsic part of the European

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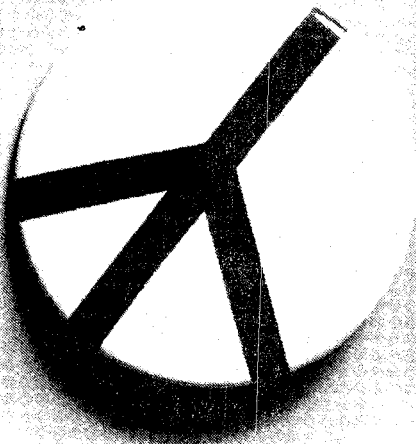
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campaign, the demand for an opening of the societies of the East to information, free communication and expression, and exchange of delegations to take part in the common work will be pressed on every occasion. And it will not only be pressed as rhetoric. We are going to find devices to symbolize that pressure and dramatize that debate.

Against the strategy which envisages Europe as a theater of limited nuclear warfare, we propose to make in Europe a theater of peace. This will not, even if we succeed, remove the danger of confrontation in non-European theaters. It offers, at the least, a small hope of European survival. It could offer more. For if the logic of nuclear strategy reaches back into the organization and ideologies of the superpowers themselves, so the logic of peacemaking might reach back also, enforcing alternative strategies, alternative ideologies. European nuclear disarmament would favor the conditions for international détente.

When I first sat down to write this essay, in February 1980, it seemed to the handful of us in Britain, France, West Germany and Eastern Europe who were then discussing such a campaign that we were only whistling in the dark. On every side of us the armorers were having their way. Only in Norway, Holland and Belgium did it seem that a popular movement of conscience could still bring any influence to bear upon political decisions.

Now we know differently. The movement has taken off, and it is moving rapidly across Europe, west, north and south. It is, already, too large and too various for any group or interest to manipulate it for sectional ends. No one is going to nobble it: this is a movement of people for themselves.

And we have seen, in the last six months of 1980, another movement of quite extraordinary resilience among the Polish people. There have been all the usual attempts—among the Soviet and NATO military—to translate this movement into the habitual terms of the cold war. These attempts continue, and I have no doubt as to their dangers. Yet the movement of Polish Solidarity is, in a critical sense, *of the same kind* as the movement in West Europe to resist nuclear rearmament. Both are movements of Europeans for autonomy—away from cold-war cliency—and movements, by Europeans, to

resume a political space for themselves.

The Western European initiative for nuclear disarmament is no more “pro-Communist” than Polish Solidarity is “pro-capitalist.” These movements taken together, offer more hope of some way out of the world’s appalling impasse than delivery systems, megatonnage or throw-weight can ever do. They offer a very difficult—barely possible—path forward, whose ultimate end would be, not only the dismantling of some nuclear weapons but the dismantling of the blocs which would throw them. A more limited success might offer, at the least, a nuclear weapons-free space, in the heart of Europe, holding the superpowers apart—space of quiet within which alternative could grow.

I cannot see how such an outcome could be against the true interests of either the American or the Russian people. The rising mood in Europe is neither “anti-American” nor “anti-Soviet”: it is anti-militarist, and it is opposed to the militarism of both blocs. For militarism, in its rivalry and even more in its reciprocity, is bringing out the worst features in both superpowers. It is containing the forces making for democratic transition in the East, so that the aging old guard of Stalinism, now propped up by the weaponry of the West and given fresh transfusions of legitimation by the Western threat. I will not say what I consider that militarism is doing to the political and cultural life of the United States. That is a problem which readers of *The Nation* know only too well.

Deterrence in the Saddle

I promised to conclude by returning you from European perceptions of yourselves. But there is nothing that can say that readers do not already know. I have described a militarist logic whose outcome must be terminal for civilization in the Northern Hemisphere. The absurd scenarios of counterforce menus and options and theater wars are quite as menacing to Americans as they are to Europeans: only day or a week will divide us in our common fate. What happens then will make the worst possible outcome of Three Mile Island appear as no more than pistol shot.

This is what is being prepared, steadily, year by year, and I think it probable that it will come to its conclusion—through accident or miscalculation.

through the paranoia of the Russian old guard or the brash theatricals of American pre-emptive deterrence and, above all, through the steady growth in influence, in both superpowers, of the military-industrial forces and their Satanic 'experts'—and that the conclusion will be in the next two or three decades.

On July 25, 1945, President Truman crawled in his personal notebook: "We have discovered the most terrible bomb in the history of the world. It may be the fire destruction prophesied in the Euphrates Valley era, after Noah and his fabulous ark." The President's literal biblical reference is touching, and touching also was his confidence that his instructions to the Secretary of War that the weapon be used on a "purely military target" only, and not "women and children," would be obeyed by the military executors. For from that very moment it is the logic of weaponry which has been in the saddle, and which has been riding the horse of the Apocalypse remorselessly into the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

What deterrence has done has been to strike into immobility every normal political process of human negotiation or reconciliation. For decades the rival military blocs, like inadequate personalities, have postponed dealing with the problems of today, and, in the name of deterrence, have tied these problems to the backs of missiles and sent them on into the future. Which future we are now fouling up today, just as the experts of the late 1950s fouled up our own present day.

A Politics of Survival

The R & D for the weapons which will kill our children and grandchildren in the twenty-first century is now in hand and is being paid from our current taxes. The leaders of your country and of mine have no political remedy of any kind. None. Nor have those immensely expert contributors to *Daedalus*. From all of them—nothing. They show a process without end, except the terminus of nuclear war.

We offer, cautiously, a possible politics of protest and survival: the different END of European Nuclear Disarmament. It is a politics which commences, not at the top with diplomats and abortive SALT negotiations but with popular movements and with scores of less formal lateral exchanges. As we proceed we may build around the small non-aligned core of Europe (Sweden, Aus-

tria, Yugoslavia) a more influential alliance of political parties and of governments.

I doubt whether we can succeed: nothing less than a worldwide spiritual revulsion against the Satanic Kingdom would give us any chance of bringing the military riders down. What might make it just possible that we could succeed would be if the "we" became, not just European but truly international—if there should be, first of all, a profound shift in American public opinion,

and then, and alongside this, by all our combined efforts and skills, an extension deep into Russian opinion also.

Impossible? It may seem so. That is not the way things are going in the West just now. Dominant American policy appears to be intent upon freezing Europe in the postures of war forever, while enhancing daily the means of that war's final execution. Europeans watch your new administration enter into Washington, and await the outcome with fear. □

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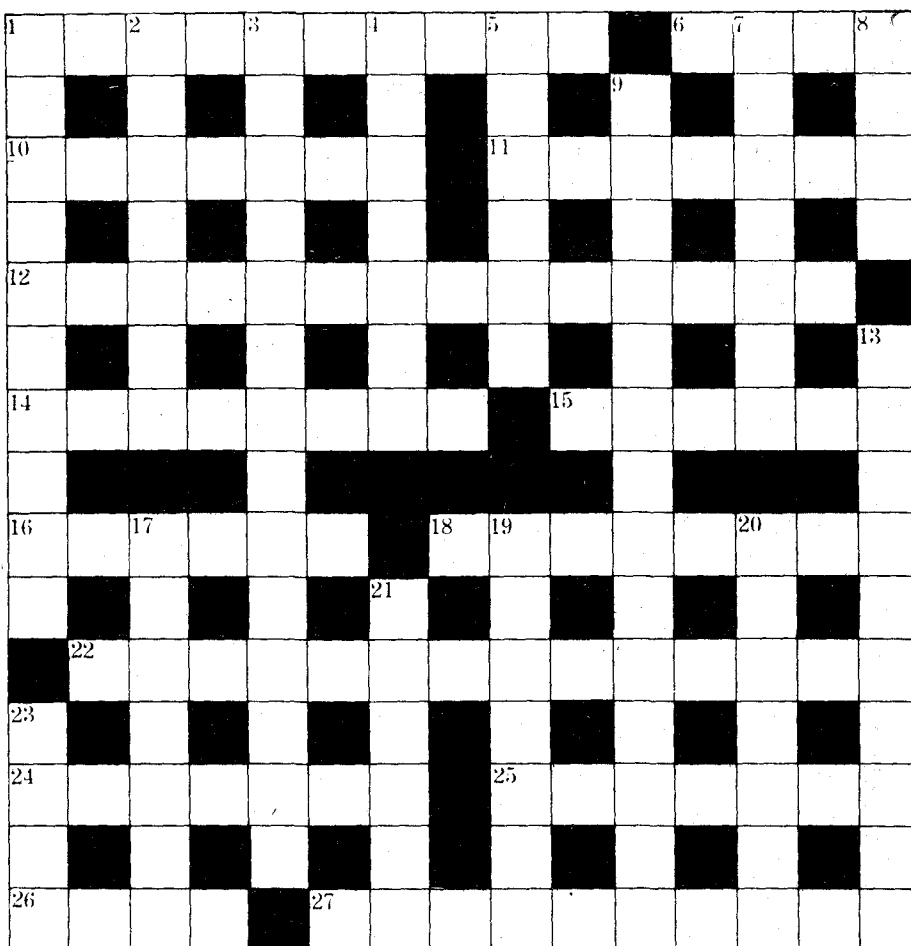
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ACROSS

- 1 More than one sometimes implies sex. (4,2,4)
- 6 This lets reds get the result of a wound by itself. (4)
- 10 A bad girl—and putting on fat, too! (7)
- 11 At least twelve tricks in a comeback? (If they entered as pairs, they might suggest an early rescue attempt.) (7)
- 12 Where some thought Harold got it in the eye! (San Francisco, for example, to them in France records a final attempt.) (6,8)
- 14 Without implying the usual duties, nor in venerable surroundings. (8)
- 15 Views coalesce nicely in beautiful setting. (6)
- 16 and 23 down Was *Castle Adamant* intended to be so—between the lines? (2-4,4)
- 18 Different tapes are set apart, possibly to see around a bad part. (8)
- 22 Players the French wrong-doing hurt—that's only a dream for some! (7,2,5)
- 24 Cited as argument, an Italian leader, in sum. (7)
- 25 Work implies the last of 22. (7)
- 26 Descriptive of Koestler's noon. (4)
- 27 In a manner that's ardent, being macho-types at heart. (10)

- 2 What one has to do with stage props, as they misbehave. (5,2)
- 3 Perhaps a somewhat flattering story of late. (8,6)
- 4 Not so 26, for a small boat. (7)
- 5 Fare prepared, very soft inside, possibly served after dinner. (6)
- 7 A sort of arching vexation. (7)
- 8 Came up like a flower. (4)
- 9 What the Gourmet Guide hopes to describe, but as a tourist you may not pay it. (5,5,4)
- 13 Filter fun—they may give credit for it. (6,4)
- 17 What the Wandervogel might do is just average to the German. (7)
- 19 Romans, for example. (7)
- 20 Was it hard for the first male worker? (7)
- 21 Interfere, and you may get what some consider just desserts, by the sound of it. (6)
- 23 See 16 across

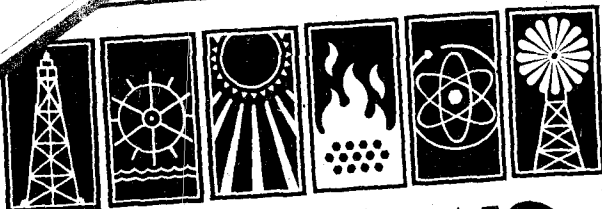
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1851

ACROSS: 1 and 5 Listen to reason; 10 Creeper; 11 Austral; 12 Earls; 13 In the open; 14 India; 16 Gleaners; 19 Prattler; 22 Canoe; 24 Odd man out; 26 Napes; 28 Gavotte; 29 Nominee 30 and 31 All in a day's work. DOWN: 1 and 23 Lucrezia Borgia; 2 Steer; 3 En passant; 4 Turning; 6 Ensue; 7 Scrap iron; 8 Nylons 9 Rattle; 15 Daredevil; 17 Nicknames; 18 Newspeak; 20 Looter; 21 Rotunda; 25 Afton; 27 Pinto.

DOWN

- 1 Autumn in back of this? That's what you do in straggling! (4,6)

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